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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR ARTHUR W. CURRIE, G. C. M. G., G. C. B.,
Commander of the Canadian Army Corps in France, 1917–1919

CANADA AT WAR

1914-1918

A Record of Heroism and Achievement

BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S., F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF "THE CANADIAN ANNUAL REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 1901-1918"

INCLUDING

A STORY OF FIVE CITIES

BY

ROBERT JOHN RENISON

CHAPLAIN, 4TH CANADIAN INFANTRY BRIGADE

ILLUSTRATED

NEW YORK

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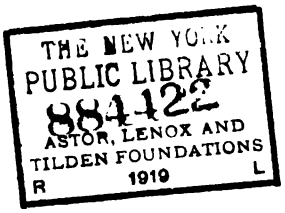
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PREFACE

By the Prime Minister of Canada

Many books have been written about the World War, and many more are certain to be written. Each of these books must necessarily have its own particular point of view — British, French, Belgian, Russian, or American — according to the nationality or situation of the writer; and, assuming always that the work is accurate and conscientious, each should have for its readers an interest and value of its own. It is the mission of the present volume to survey the battleground of the nations from the viewpoint of Canada, and to record the various phases of Canadian life and thought, action and accomplishment. And it is in that regard that this volume performs a distinctive service and is entitled to an enduring place among the works of contemporary historians.

All those, and they are many, who are familiar with the work of Mr. Castell Hopkins in *The Canadian Annual Review,* will welcome this new publication, founded upon facts gathered by him with infinite labour and pains, contained in the *Review* itself, and so arranged here as to form a continuous narrative of Canada's share in the mighty struggle for the ideals of our Empire and race and the preservation of our civilization. I am confident that I voice the feeling of thousands of readers, to whom Mr.

Castell Hopkins as an author is well known, when I say that no writer could be better fitted than he to tell this story of the Canadian people at war, of their representatives and ministers at home, and of the valour and achievement of their sons on the battlefields of the World War.

OTTAWA, 1918.

CANADA AT WAR

CHAPTER I

THE EVE OF THE STORM IN CANADA

WHEN, on August 4, 1914, the world's liberties, the existence of small nations, the mastery of the seas, the lordship of Europe, the dominance of the world, were thrown into a vast crucible of war, Canada, as a Dominion of the British Empire, was a prosperous community, with a contented people holding rich resources in fee for the future and building slowly but surely upon foundations which had been carefully laid and safeguarded. It was a new country, a young nationality, crude in some of its developments, clever and progressive in others, aggressively independent in all phases of life and thought. It had the advantage of great traditions and of a history extending back into the storied past, with a continuity of patriotism conserved by the Imperial connection; its people could study the treasured memories of Scotland or Ireland or England and feel that though the title-deeds of the race were in Westminster they were held there for Canadians as truly as for those born within the sound of Bow Bells or the sweeter strains of Shandon.

Those who had the local or national instinct more largely developed than the Imperial could look with pride upon a purely Canadian record of pioneer achievements, of early patriotism bred of privation and toil and peril, of loyalty held against the armed forces of the American invader or the sometimes persuasive force of United States contiguity. Many who were affected by these influences from the Republic to the south still found scope for action and development under the freedom of the flag and were able to cultivate a certain American alertness and aggressiveness in business methods, to develop personal characteristics quite different from those of the British or French founders

of the country and to evolve new and sometimes eccentric opinions as to politics or government or the elements of liberty.

In the years immediately preceding the World War, however, Canada was practically a unit in satisfaction with its position in the British Empire. It was one which brought safety without clear responsibility — Imperial protection without taxation and with very little expenditure even upon the local Militia, the *prestige* of British citizenship abroad and at home without the vast burdens of Navy and Army and diplomacy. The French Canadian received these advantages and the further benefit of special rights and privileges in laws, language and religion which claimed the guarantee of British treaties and the force of British pledges. The English Canadian had vague memories of British historic aid in the settlement and upbuilding of pioneer Canada. They were blurred by distance in time, by political controversies, by indistinct teaching in school and forum and press; they were even at times denied altogether. American and foreign settlers in the country influenced the latter school of thought and helped an element which stood, often unconsciously, for a policy of future Independence. In this latter connection there was an Americanizing process under way which was not publicly recognized nor clearly understood. It had no relationship to the old-time fears of political annexation which were as dead as such an issue could be, but it had a strong, indirect force as, presently, will be seen.

Taking into first consideration the primary British sentiment of the people, it would seem that the facts were strong and sufficient to afford a stable basis for the loyalty and satisfaction which did exist. When the tiny settlements along the St. Lawrence, on the borders of the Great Lakes, or on the shores of the Atlantic, had been in the birth-pains of United States revolution, invasion and attempted conquest, Great Britain was unstinted in her

supply of blood and men and money; when soldiers were needed to support Canada's growth and maintain its interests and hold its territory, British troops and fortifications were maintained in the country at a total expenditure of $500,000,000 during the nineteenth century; when Canadian commerce became a matter of international concern, as its vast, unbroken territories had long been an object of international cupidity, absolute security was found within the scope of Britain's naval supremacy; when British dignity and Canadian feeling were shamed by the *Trent* affair, 10,000 British soldiers came to Canada as fast as ships could bring them; when the Fenian invasion illustrated the helplessness of a country like this lying alongside the territory of a great Power, Britain paid the damages rather than risk war with a United States stirred to fever-heat by passions of the moment, which, happily, have since disappeared.

If Canadian settlers needed roads and canals and bridges in pioneer days, British money-grants had supplied them; if the Indians for half a century required expensive coddling and yearly gifts and payments, the money was provided by Great Britain; if the churches wanted vast sums for pioneer work and continued development, British voluntary societies contributed $100,000,000 during the nineteenth century; if railways, such as the Intercolonial, had to be constructed, at a period when Provincial credit was poor and inter-Provincial unity a dream, Great Britain guaranteed the loans to a total amount of $25,000,000; if in later years countless enterprises, private and national, required money, it was freely accorded in London up to a present total of $2,800,000,000 of British investments in Canada.

If the Dominion wanted to build great canals, or construct a Canadian Pacific, or a Canadian Northern, or a Grand Trunk Pacific, the money was readily obtained in London at a rate of interest and with a facility which no

small nation not under the British flag, and not having British power and stability to guarantee its position, could possibly have commanded; if, since Confederation, Canadian trade upon the seas of the world, totalling $10,000,000,000, was never disturbed by threats or the shadow of a real menace, it was due to the protection of the Imperial Navy; if Canadian liberties were of a regulated, defined and orderly nature which became the envy of visiting or observant statesmen in the American Republic it was due to evolution under British institutions and loyalty to an ideal of monarchical government. Very few Canadians, even of the staunchest British loyalty or Imperial aspiration, thought in exactly these terms, knew in detail all the facts mentioned, or realized, for instance, that the hard-pressed and greatly-burdened British taxpayer had during the nineteenth century expended at least $1,200,000,000 upon Canada's military and naval defence and pioneer operations. But, in vague ways, in undercurrents of discussion, in growing popular knowledge, the situation was coming home more or less clearly to many Canadians.

On the one side, therefore, of the Canadian mind during a century's evolution, and affecting it greatly when the storm and stress of war upheaval came, were these and other British considerations — in varied form and detail and degrees of force. On the other side of this mind of Canada were influences bred of United States contiguity, fostered by expansion, after the American Civil War, of a commercialism which affected imperceptibly, but surely, the tendencies of patriotic thought, promoted by the natural pressure of a virile, aggressive American people, growing from fifty to one hundred millions, upon a small community of five to eight millions. With a United States which might be hostile or unfriendly or too aggressive, there was a tendency in Canada to look to Britain, to rely upon British power for defence; with a United States which was indif-

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Sir Robert Borden on Board H. M. S. "Queen Elizabeth" at the Surrender of the German Fleet

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

"Three Cheers and a Tiger" for Sir Robert Borden by Men of a Canadian Brigade. Gen. Sir Arthur Currie is Seen in the Picture, with Hon. J. A. Calder

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

A Canadian Divisional General Explaining the Use of a Machine Gun Against Enemy Planes to the Canadian Minister of Marine (Hon. C. C. Ballantyne in Civilian Clothes)

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadian Officers Entertaining Canadian, Imperial and American Nurses. Tea on the Lawn Which is Within Range of Enemy Guns

ferent, or fairly friendly, or conciliatory in policy, there was a tendency to regard it with more respect and to be yielding and conciliatory in return, to discuss the supposed strength or effectiveness of its Monroe Doctrine, to feel the influence of the Pacifist tendencies and trade forces and fiscal policies which the Republic developed in later years.

The materialistic spirit of the day in the United States also had a strong reflex action in Canada. It took varied forms and the more selfish it was in application the stronger was the patriotic front sometimes given to it. There were Canadians who supported Protection not as a defensive or helpful instrument of trade and taxation but as a weapon for excluding all competition whether British or American, Imperial or foreign; there were those who urged Free Trade purely because they needed a certain market for their wares or goods and not because it was, theoretically, a policy of peace and progress; there were many who talked of national development and meant absolutely nothing but the creation of larger personal opportunities for making money — to them increased population, enhanced agricultural production, growing land values in city and country, were the beginning and end of national life. From the United States in part, from certain phases of human nature in part, many caught this spirit of materialism in whom it was not inherent, and it had an obvious place in the conditions facing the outbreak of war. The greater the prosperity in Canada, as in the United States, the more marked was this condition; the larger the financial return to the individual the more apt was he to be wrapped up in consideration of the money market or the price of produce.

The indirect, continuous, but cumulative effect of the pressure upon Canada's southern frontier of this great nation, speaking in the main a similar language, having similar customs and social conditions, holding similar instincts of trade and business, could not but fail to affect national thought and action at such a crisis as that of 1914.

The proximity of Canadian and United States cities, the constant interchange of travel and trade, the identity of literature and press and theatrical performance, the intermarriage and intermigration of peoples, the close ties of international organized Labour, all tended to produce a considerable likeness in political lines of thought as well as in business practice. Pacifism, agrarianism or socialism travelled easily across the border of the United States into Canada and found footing, though not in the same degree of strength as in the Republic. American methods of business and manufacturing found deeper root — and very largely superseded the slower and surer British traditions and practices of the past.

In Canadian cities, as in the United States, stock-brokerage and real estate speculation had flourished for years just prior to the War and made or marred many fortunes; everywhere the building of railways — to the extent of 12,000 miles in fourteen years — had spread hundreds of millions of borrowed money upon the carpet of competition and thrown into feverish activity the land values of the West; during half a decade centres of population in the Western Provinces grew up in a year and villages in a night, with occasional incidents on record such as that of a bare prairie scene at a certain date, with, three months later, the holding of a Mayoralty election on the same piece of ground! As an outcome of these and other elements of materialism the price of wheat in regions where grain grew with ease and, if weather conditions were good, might produce twenty-two bushels to the acre at a minimum of cost or exertion, often became more important than ideals of national government, conditions of Empire defence or problems of political purity. When, in 1913, the production of Western wheat grew to 136,000,000 bushels the question of transportation became so vital that it overshadowed all other issues, and so it was in a lesser degree, or more localized aspect, with the growth of mushroom real estate

values in and around the cities of Canada in 1911–12 and the special development of the sub-division phenomenon under which farms outside Montreal or Toronto, Winnipeg or Calgary, Regina or Vancouver, assumed metropolitan values and duplicated many incidents of United States development.

Another continental factor was the effect of emigration to the United States and the influx of Americans into Canada. The American 1900 Census put Canadians in the United States at a total of 1,181,000 with 90 per cent of the English and 84 per cent of the French Canadians naturalized. The interchange of thought and opinion and visits between these people and Canadian relations or friends, and the arrival in Canada between 1897 and 1914 of 1,000,000 American settlers, had a pronounced effect upon the methods of Canadian business, the development of Canadian resources, the social customs and life of the people. What influence it had upon the national and Imperial sentiment or aspirations of the public the World War of 1914 was to clearly indicate.

These conditions did, undoubtedly, aid in creating a certain cosmopolitanism of thought, a feeling which was non-British or non-Canadian and which, in some quarters, for instance, looked to the Monroe Doctrine for future protection and forgot that the British Navy in its silent sweep of the seas guarded both Canadian autonomy and the Monroe Doctrine itself. W. H. Taft, ex-President of the United States, distinctly informed a Toronto audience[1] after war had broken out that this Doctrine did not contemplate protection of American countries against invasion or injury in war, but only against permanent occupation by a hostile Power. He did not explain how the United States could prevent a permanent occupation of Canada or Brazil by Germany should that Power over-run Europe and overcome British naval forces. But the mere fact of

[1] Canadian Club, February 11, 1915.

some Canadians having raised this point showed how far they had gone from principles of National patriotism, how much they had been unconsciously influenced by American thought and how they were being prepared for a secretly held ideal of separation and independence.

In Quebec there was neither belief in the possibility of war, fear for the future of its peace-loving and cheerful-minded people, or dreams of aught but a quiet expansion of population, creed, and language over an ever-widening area of Canadian soil. French-Canadian ideas of Empire or of foreign politics and international issues, or of national responsibilities, were all alike, vague. Even Canada to very many of its people was a mere geographical expression, with the United States, along the border, better known than British Columbia, and the St. Lawrence river, a splendid epitome, in its rolling waters, of the assumed power and possibilities of their race. As the United States manufacturer came to Ontario and the United States farmer to the Canadian West in varied circles of influence, so the French-Canadian emigrants of a decade before returned on visits to their Quebec villages and told the *habitants* wonderful tales of United States greatness and money-making opportunities. France had become a far-away factor in a distant past; only her cherished language remained to appeal to French Canadian sympathy in her days of trial. Too often Great Britain had been represented on political platforms as a grasping Power which sought to weaken Quebec's autonomy instead of being the beneficent influence which had created and safeguarded its popular liberties and privileges. Hence it was that the French Canadian, least of all the population of Canada, was prepared to face the vast issues of August, 1914.

Partly from the United States and partly from Great Britain had come another condition which emphasized the materialism of the day and enhanced the state of national unpreparedness. At the same time it appealed to some of

the finest instincts in humanity and touched some of its loftiest ideals. The Pacifist school of thought at this period covered or included many things. As with Socialism some of its teachers knew everything but human nature; and drew every conclusion from existing conditions except the right one. In its better aspects the ideal had strong British support, powerful American backing, vigorous Canadian sympathies. Lloyd George in England, Andrew Fisher in Australia, W. P. Schreiner in South Africa, Sir W. Laurier in Canada, and W. J. Bryan in the United States, stood for the ideal of nations trading and living in peace, without aggressive policy or ambition, without the clashing of arms or deliberate preparedness for war.

Such ideals of Peace had always found a strong place, a natural place, in Canada. Surrounded on two sides by an inviolate sea — safer than in Shakespeare's day and Shakespeare's country — but with its security based upon the same silent sweep of British warships; backed on the north by the equally inviolate Arctic regions and faced on the south by a powerful, peace-talking Republic of democratic ideals, Canada had developed an isolation from Europe which made the genuine Imperialism of a part of its people and the actual loyalty of its masses an extraordinary condition and its refusal to accept closer commercial relations with the United States almost a miracle. To many Canadians the wars and talk of wars in Europe were far-away echoes of other and barbaric ages; the vast armies facing each other across national frontiers from the sea-gates of the Rhine to the shores of the Bosphorus were mere tax-making toys of arbitrary or foolish rulers; the British Navy itself often was a splendid and picturesque expression of fantastic fears!

The world-situation to them was unreal. Europe was veritably a vortex of militarism, its people would some day rise and by mere voting power destroy an evil dream. Canada and the United States were far from these things

and should keep away from them; the 2,000 miles of ocean was the greatest of all protective agencies! To some, in both of these countries, Peace had become a habit of thought, almost a religious dogma; to them its environment was perpetual, its principles were those of the Medes and Persians — immutable, omnipotent. Indirectly, this feeling in Canada affected public opinion as to Empire obligations and national responsibilities, as to support of the Militia, and as to other problems touching the place of the Dominion in the Empire and amongst the younger and lesser nations of the world. It was strengthened by various international organizations — peace, or business, or labour, or social in character; it found expression in crowded meetings to hear such speakers as Goldwin Smith or Andrew Carnegie or Norman Angell; it rejoiced, and properly so, in the celebration of the hundred years of peace between the United States and Britain or Canada; it proclaimed in varied forms and on many occasions, in the press and on the platform and in the pulpit, that the forces compelling peace and prohibiting war were increasing and had, in fact, become dominant for reasons which may be summarized as follows:

1. The bankers and financial interests were so powerful and the probable cost of a great war so vast as to insure the peaceful settlement of issues involved.
2. The commerce of the world was so internationalized and so potent that it was the imperative interest of business men in every nation to conserve peace and prevent war.
3. Labour organizations, Socialistic and similar forces, were so strong that by an international strike or by localized national influence they could and would forbid war.
4. The press of the world had become so strong and so effective in its distribution of news and views as to make possible, by some league of nations, a commercial boycott which would compel an aggressive Power to come to terms.

5. Civilized principles, the precepts of religion, the growth of trade, the expansion of knowledge, had combined to make war impossible: the tremendous growth of armaments in Europe had nullified its own objects by replacing ordinary war with wholesale and impossible slaughter.

These and similar arguments were used with great effect and promoted a state of mind in Canada which, at times, vigorously deprecated Dreadnoughts, denounced drill-halls, and dreaded or deprecated a so-called Militarism. The prosperous condition of the country, the degree of substantial progress which had come to its people in the decade prior to 1914, was another factor in leaving Canada unprepared in thought to meet a world-wide clash of arms. The prosperity of this period was not spectacular in its quality; in some branches of national life, indeed, there was depression; but the basic industries and financial condition of the country were sound, there was little poverty and such business restriction as existed was to be found in a few stagnant industries and in reaction from a Western real-estate inflation. The unemployment which showed itself in some centres was exaggerated and the winter of 1913–14 saw about 30,000, or less than 2 per cent, of the adult population of Canada out of work. All the fundamental bases of the country were sound and the values of the farms, mines and forests, railways, urban property, machinery, live-stock, carriages and motors, foreign investments, manufacturing stocks and raw material, held by its 8,000,000 of people were estimated at a total of $11,000,000,000.

British money at the rate of $200,000,000 a year was still pouring into the loan companies, railways and other corporations, and filtering through them down into the smaller industries and the agricultural development of the Dominion; United States capital to an estimated total of $600,000,000 in ten years was finding its favoured place in great industrial establishments — notably at Hamilton and Winnipeg — and provided employment for large numbers

of men; the aggregate trade of the people had grown steadily from $386,000,000 in 1901 to $693,000,000 in 1910, and $1,129,000,000 in 1914, or $137 per capita, compared with $47 per head in the United States; in agriculture the farmers, who totalled nearly a million of the population, had increased their field crops from $194,000,000 in 1901 to $552,000,000 in 1913, with an increase in the following year of $86,000,000. The Banks had deposits totaling more than $1,000,000,000 and this large sum they had used freely in the creation and encouragement of a myriad industries and in the promotion of agricultural production, or movement of crops from farm to tide-water, while at the same time safe-guarding by careful discrimination and necessary restriction, in years of passing difficulty, the general interests of the investor, the *prestige* of the national credit, and the financial fabric of the country.

The ideal of Independence was not in any sense a public issue in Canada, nor did it threaten to become one in the near future. It was, however, a sub-conscious sentiment influencing public policy indirectly but sometimes strongly. Born of isolation from the Empire, helped by certain discords in the ordinary harmony of Imperial relationship, such as the Alaskan affair, aided still more by the non-British sentiment of American settlers, visitors, traders, and social interchanges, affected by the general undefined force of contiguity to the immense democracy of the United States with all its special problems of economics, labour, migration, and society, finding easy root in soil nurtured by such special anti-British appeals as those of Henri Bourassa, it had a degree of strength unknown to many though not yet serious or dangerous to the British institutions of the country. It was, however, one to be reckoned with and it had clearly shown itself in speeches during the Naval debates at Ottawa; it was seen in certain Western utterances and new policies originating in the United States; it took such forms as opposition to tying the hands

of Canada in the future, or evolving any Empire relationship which would hamper Canadian action along any and all lines of independent legislation or policy; it appeared during the recruiting campaigns of 1914–17 in personal statements of indifference to England's fate and to Canada's place in the Empire. As with Pacifism it took forms hard to recognize and was in a state of ebb and flow at the time when war faced theory and put the cards of force upon the table.

In certain general conditions of a comparative and international character it may be said that when the free but related communities of the British Empire found themselves suddenly plunged into a great war and compelled to provide immense sums of money, large armies, and all the paraphernalia of shot and shell in a struggle for world supremacy on the one side and world liberty on the other, there was no guiding post of precedent or experience to go upon. It is difficult to compare compulsion and liberty in either operation or fruition; the basic elements are so different, the details of method so varied. In all cases, of course, in Germany as in England, in Austria or Turkey as in Canada, public opinion had to be conciliated in a sort of surface way. In other words the people had to be convinced that they were really fighting enemies who threatened their power or their prosperity, their trade or their territory, as the case might be. But in British countries all the organs of public opinion and private thought were absolutely independent of coercive Government action until after the issue was called; in Teutonic countries all, or practically all, of these elements of influence were controlled by Government power and guided, as the world afterwards knew, by a carefully planned Government policy which had extended over many years.

The whole machinery of popular guidance at the outbreak of the war was different. In the one group of countries it was free, uncontrolled and often uncontrollable; in the

other it was tied and bound, seeded with care and moulded by force when necessary. British public thought was democratic, sometimes to an extreme which spelt danger to public safety; German public thought was like a plant carefully trained, nurtured in a hot-house. In England liberty of thought, of trade, of party policy, of personal labour, of financial action, had reached a stage where organization was largely on behalf of sections or special interests and against the State; in Germany organization had attained a position where almost everything was for the State and against individualism or even sections of the people. To the English or Canadian ideal and practice of liberty Militarism was a thing apart, its very nature of preparedness abhorrent; to the modern German view of organization as the pivot of science, of politics, of government, of men, of everything, it was a natural part and parcel of life. In Britain or Canada an army had to be improvised, as it were, out of nothing — public opinion had to be fed with patriotism where it was not instinctive, voluntary action had to be developed, training carried out, organization effected in a myriad ways, and countless divergent ideals and policies persuaded, not forced, into regular grooves of action; in Germany a great army was easily kept ready and it was promptly utilized when needed as a farmer would use his threshing machine or an engineer drive forward his train of cars upon land or some great steamship upon the ocean.

To individual Canadians the battle-call of war rang out as something beyond all personal experience or knowledge. The War of 1812 was a long-past memory buried beneath the facts of a hundred years of peace; the South African War action had been, chiefly, a patriotic ebullition of 7,000 individuals who felt the call of extreme patriotism or pleasureable adventure. The country had received no training in the thought or fear of war, in the duties of the average citizen at a national or Imperial crisis, in the respective

war obligations of the married or unmarried men to their country, in the patriotism which women should feel, and must feel, if they are to give their sons to the perils of the battle-field. Canadians at this time, in fact, had gone further than mere passive inaction; it was the inertia of a people lapped in peace for a hundred years. The favourite platform peroration of its speakers had long been the patriotism of the peace-maker; its Militia had always existed with difficulty and laboured under the disadvantage of political criticism and, until very recent years, of Parliamentary cheese-paring; its tendency was to regard war as no longer necessary or possible and as a relic of barbarism; its public men were inclined to view any defined preparation to meet war as militarism, Jingoism, and a flying in the face of Providence, religion, and national morality. Such a mental training was not calculated to make the average man willing, at a moment's notice, to sacrifice comfort, career, pleasure, and, perhaps, life, to fight thousands of miles away for a cause which the British Navy prevented from directly touching its own country.

So far as this sudden struggle was concerned, it also must be remembered that Canada was in it because of the British Empire, because of its constitutional relations with Great Britain, because when Britain was at war Canada was at war. Yet during many years the value of British connection had been minimized to a portion of the people, the benefits conferred by association with the Empire doubted if not denied, the responsibilities of Canada in and to the Empire sometimes whittled down to a thin point. It therefore would not have been altogether wonderful had Canada, after the first shock of war, failed to overcome the inertia of years; to realize that it was the duty and interest of its people to put as many men in the field proportionately as Great Britain herself; to understand that this was to be a struggle for national existence, and that it really was what patriotic speakers called "our war"; to feel that

Canada was no longer an insignificant, dependent, unknown colony, but a British nation with a nation's responsibilities and a nation's wealth and with great resources which were fit prey for foreign cupidity if Britain's power was broken.

Summing up the situation which existed when the British Empire and its Allies faced a Power greater and more determined in ambition, far more deliberate and ruthless in policy, better prepared and more powerful, than was France in the days of Napoleon, it seemed obvious that Canada was not in a position to fully realize the issue. Fortunately, it was ready for emergencies in the sense that any great business house which has its financial sails carefully furled, its capital intact, its assets liquid, is prepared to face a financial storm. Political conditions were reasonably quiet, no great issue was immediately pending, the Government had a substantial majority, and the ship of state was threatened by nothing more serious than Opposition charges of corruption or lack of aggressive action. In the Provinces Prohibition issues were developing strength; in Ontario and Quebec the Bi-lingual controversy constituted a storm-cloud not yet large upon the horizon though with elements of danger in its formation and with political possibilities such as the Dominion had faced in the Manitoba School question of nearly two decades before.

In a theoretical, abstract sort of way there was only one Canadian opinion as to the wanton aggressiveness of Germany in July, 1914, and its military preparedness and power; as to the German challenge to the world behind the Austrian war-front; as to its refusal of the Conference which Britain had struggled for, which Russia and France supported, and which Austria accepted on the very day that Germany threw down the gage of battle; as to the British principle of regard for treaties and the duty of upholding and enforcing them on behalf of little nations; as to the disgrace and overwhelming menace of the German

invasion of Belgium. But Canadians did not grasp all the details at once as involving probable war to them or as the culmination of a terror which had been in the hearts of every reasonable statesman in Europe for a dozen years — a terror which might in Britain be side-tracked at times by politics or softened by an all-pervading love of peace as in the minds of a Haldane or a Lloyd George, but which was ready at a sign from the seething unrest of the Balkans, or from the tortuous or aggressive diplomacy of Berlin, to spring into life and action. There still was hope, however, a hope which sprang eternal in the breast of British diplomacy until the dread reality appeared in the roar of German guns on Belgian soil. In the less experienced and more distant roots of Canadian sentiment this hope was more vigorous and the resulting disbelief in the reality of war more difficult to eradicate.

Lapped in peaceful progress, therefore, the fateful Fourth of August, 1914, found in Canada a great country of the richest natural resources yet undeveloped in the world; possessed of half a billion of acres not yet cultivated, which could grow the finest of grain and produce the best of live-stock and food for a myriad millions; holding untold quantities of gold and silver, and minerals more precious than either, beneath the canopies of its mighty mountains or forest-clad hills; sending abroad yearly increasing cargoes of produce and manufactures and minerals to the extent of a thousand million dollars. The strident note of war found this vast territory in possession of a small nation which depended absolutely for its safety upon the strength of the British Navy and was possessed only of a small, though effective, militia force which it never expected to use. War was the last thing that its people thought of, and, as already pointed out, no preliminaries of international negotiation, or far-away verbal conflict, or military and naval preparations abroad, had really brought the issue home to the minds and hearts of the masses.

CHAPTER II

THE THUNDERBOLT OF WAR

It is difficult to describe one man's state of mind at a time of war-crisis; it is a thousand-fold more difficult to analyze the soul of a nation. When that nation or people has varied and complex strains of sentiment, when race and religion and habits of thought run in oft-times divergent grooves, when no man or woman born in the land has faced invasion or even the danger of it, the problem is still more acute. Modern Germany, during those eventful days of July and August, 1914, when its rulers were staging, directing, and controlling the forces of possible conflict, knew what war was in the sense of triumphal progress over defeated enemies or prostrate rivals; Prussia, its most powerful Kingdom, had over-run Schleswig-Holstein and beaten Denmark, smashed Austria and taken over its high place amongst Germanic States, crushed France and drawn from her rich spoils and great sums of indemnity.

France during the nineteenth century had faced Russia in the Crimea, Austria in Italy, Prussia within her own borders; she knew the glories of victory and the pains of defeat; she had for two or three decades been preparing for a final settlement of the issue with the iron-clad Power which still overshadowed her country, at times dictated her foreign policy, compelled her always and everywhere to be ready as would a man in the jungle facing a tiger's spring. Russia, in its vast territory and teeming population, had never been successfully invaded, but it had been at war with half the small peoples of Asia, at war with England and France, at war with Japan. Its people did not look upon such issues with the horror of less barbaric nations and, like Germany in a greater sphere, much of its expansion

had followed upon successful war. Austria had struggled with various nations in the past century with alternate failure and success. It lost much territory in Italy but held Trieste and the Trentino, it was overthrown by Prussia but held Poland and Hungary, it took Bosnia and Herzegovina by threat of war, it now expected to acquire Serbia and the dominance of the Balkans in the same way.

All of these peoples, therefore, knew what war was, what victory or defeat meant, what invasion involved. The nations within the British Empire were quite different. Great Britain had not, since the days of Napoleon, been seriously threatened with invasion or vitally affected by such distant and passing conflicts as the Crimea, Afghanistan, the Soudan, Egypt, or even South Africa. Its naval supremacy had been maintained with unceasing vigilance and increasing power by a wise statecraft which understood that the migrating genius of its people, the wide sweep of its commerce, the shores of its Empire, lay chiefly along the ocean waterways of the world. Australia and New Zealand had never in their annals heard the hostile shot of an invading enemy and so it had been in Canada during a hundred years of history, with certain raiding exceptions of a trivial nature. South Africa and India were the only parts of the Empire which could realize war in its larger phases, and the latter country was so vast and varied in extent and population that an Indian Mutiny could centre at Delhi without being appreciably felt at Calcutta or Bombay.

So pronounced was the resulting British ignorance of war dangers and war chances that much of the politics and journalism, the commercial and financial interest, the moral and religious thought of the United Kingdom, were combined in the maintenance of a Peace formula which proclaimed the inconceivable wickedness, the utter impossibility, of another great war. The Liberal party was in power with an historic policy of protest against all war,

an equally historic and intense love of liberty, an unabashed hatred of the increasing armaments of continental Europe, a practical belief in disarmament and international peace which it had shown in the decreased Navy estimates of 1906–7. The year 1914 opened, in fact, with a speech from Mr. Lloyd George which declared this to be a propitious period, the most opportune in twenty years, for a reconsideration of the whole question of armaments — with German relations described as "infinitely more friendly than they have been for years."

As the months passed there were no visible signs of trouble in the skies or at least none more serious than those which the tumultuous Balkans promised to produce at any moment. Even the crisis produced by the murder of the Austrian Archduke and heir to the throne, at Serajevo on June 28, though it sent every ruler and statesman in Europe to his post of government in a state of suspense, seemed to have passed, or to be passing, when on July 23 it was announced that Austria had delivered an Ultimatum to Serbia and demanded its absolute acceptance within forty-eight hours. The terms were arbitrary and excessive, yet the efforts of Serbia to meet them were almost abject and, on the advice of Russia, went so far as was compatible with the national independence of the little country; the refusal of Austria to accept anything but the entire claims of the Ultimatum was the response.

This action was so entirely unexpected outside of the courts of Vienna and Berlin that the British representatives were away from Berlin and Belgrade; M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier, and his ministers were electioneering and the Russian ambassadors were absent from Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and Belgrade; the President and Prime Minister of the French Republic were out of France on board one of their battle-ships. There followed the brief but intense and concentrated efforts of the Powers, other than Germany and Austria, to gain time; to ease the situation

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

A Canadian Fishing in a Stream Near a French Mill While the Miller's Daughter Looks On

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadians Wearing French and German Hats, Having a Quiet Game of Cards on Ground Captured by Them a Few Hours Before. German Artillery Was Busy Retiring, So They Were Not Interrupted by Shell Fire

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadian-Scottish Barbers at Work; Helping the Men to Keep Cool

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Still "Merry and Bright." Two Canadians From the Front Line Looking From Their Little Mud Home in the Trench While Their Chums Are Performing Their Toilet Under a Bridge Across the Trench

for Russia, who was bound by every code of honour and obligation to help her weaker racial sister in this hour of trial, and for France, who would be compelled by treaty to support Russia; to persuade Germany to influence her ally and partner along lines of peace, to hold a Conference of Powers interested, to do anything except precipitate or permit the tremendous conflict which was imminent.

Even in Great Britain, therefore, astonishment at the suddenness of the issue was at first the dominant sensation, the sense of responsibility was to come later when the full burden of a struggle involving 1,000,000,000 of people, affecting the incalculable total of £40,000,000,000 of national wealth and controlling the destinies of the world, probably for another century, was borne in upon the public consciousness. So in Canada, to an even greater degree, was the surprise and slowness to grasp the diplomatic situation. Indeed, as late as May 18, 1914, the Toronto *Globe* had editorially voiced a large school of thought in the following words: "The weapons of Armageddon, when it comes, will not be carnal but spiritual. The clash will be civilization against civilization, type against type, ideal against ideal, character against character. An exclusion law or a tariff wall cannot shut out a vital idea. A 14-inch gun and a $15,000,000 battle-ship are clumsy and ineffective against a philosophy. The man of war is only the policeman who survives from the half-barbarous ages; the truly equipped combatant will be the man of mind."

The shock and shiver which ran through the unprepared mind of Canada on August 4 following was natural though at first not so deep or universal as in Britain. In the cities and populous centres it was keener, the feeling of dread greater, the sinking sensation of soul more profound, than in village and country. To the political and financial leaders — except a few of the highest — it was a vast, unexpected catastrophe following upon a vague, unreal, preliminary sense of peril; to the ordinary man of fair

information and understanding it was as if the solid earth had been slightly shaken by a great upheaval of nature; to him the very thought of half the world at war was impossible. There was a natural fear that the financial fabric of civilized nations centering in London would fall with a crash; there was partial realization of the fact that Europe was already rumbling with the tramp of ten millions of men who might soon be doubled in number; there was obvious danger to Canadian and British commerce upon the seas of the world from some sudden dash or action by the second greatest fleet in existence; the whole situation was enough to make the most convinced believer in the inevitability of such a conflict face the future with a shudder. To the masses of the people, however, all these details did not occur at once and, at the beginning of things, it seemed more as if some great earthquake had taken place thousands of miles away or as though a sweeping cyclone of vast dimensions had overwhelmed the people of a South American State or some other terrible but distant cataclysm had occurred. It took time to adjust the minds of the masses to the real and closer issue.

To those with mental vision who understood the issue, to those in responsible positions at Ottawa or elsewhere, the years of succeeding struggle, the tumultuous ups and downs of the World War, the roar of guns in vast and ever-increasing size and numbers along a thousand miles of front, the casualty lists running up into many millions, dulled the earlier sensations of dread and brought relief to over-burdened victims of that initial responsibility. But few of them could ever forget the day when Britain's entrance into the conflict brought Canada into the whirlpool of a world-struggle or their first sensations in that terrible time. They knew something — and this was inevitably the first and most pressing thought — of the delicate financial fabric of London; its potent, far-reaching, immense and yet minute influence upon conditions in every country of the

Empire and, indeed, of the world; its thousands of millions which had been lent to Canada and, through the London money-market, touched every hamlet, however remote, every settler, however solitary; its vital influence upon the United States and other countries under which a collapse at the centre would involve panic and ruin in every part of this continent and in business circles all around the earth. Could Canadian banks stand the strain? Not, it was felt, if British banks went down or the gold standard was seriously shaken or cash settlements in London permanently affected. Everything turned upon the financial strength and policy of Great Britain and, pending action or permanent policy in London, Canadian conditions were for the moment chaotic.

Canadian expressed opinion when the issue was struck showed no clear divergence of thought — though the undercurrents and cross-currents already described were there in force. Very few, then or during the succeeding years of the war, ran publicly counter to the view of Canada as a British people and a party to the world issue. The obvious duty was to send as many troops as could be obtained, equipped, trained and transported to Great Britain or the scene of conflict; Canadian obligations were felt as those of a young, unorganized yet loyal people whose leaders and press were convinced that the war was a just one on the part of Britain, that it was fought for the protection and maintenance of world-liberties, and that, in a degree which grew as the months and years passed, the life of the Empire and of British institutions hung in the balance; Canada's constitutional and patriotic place was admitted to be with the United Kingdom in support of her attitude and policy and back of a colossal struggle of Allied Powers against the forces of militarism and autocracy.

The urgency and vastness of the issue appeared for the time to swallow up all minor dissension, to obliterate historic and seemingly fundamental differences of opinion.

The Pacifist and the Imperialist, the French-Canadian and the Western-Canadian, the East and the West, met apparently upon this common basis of believing the war to be a just and unavoidable one so far as Britain was concerned, of feeling that when Britain was at war Canada was at war, of realizing in some dim and undefined way that it was the duty of Canada to support the Mother Country at this crisis. The surface expression of thought, therefore, rose fully to the occasion, though the instinctive divergence of party sentiment made the reasons for Canadian action quite different in their nature.

The Conservative press, as a whole, supported immediate aid to the Empire, urged the outstanding loyalty of Canada to British institutions and Imperial connection, emphasized the many reasons for helping Great Britain in this hour of trial, dealt with the possible dangers which menaced the United Kingdom itself and Canada as an integral part of the Empire. The Liberal press, led by the Toronto *Globe,* clearly enunciated the doctrine that when Britain was at war Canada was at war and then passed to the basic point that the struggle in Europe was one of autocracy against liberty, of the iron ideals of militarism against the democratic ideals of universal peace, and to the fact that Canada's place was beside the champions of freedom. On the one hand Canada was declared to be fighting for the Empire and National life and, incidentally, for high ideals of peace and principles of liberty; on the other hand she was described as fighting for the liberties and peace of the world and, incidentally, for the British Empire of which the Dominion was a part.

Both parties at first were united in hoping for a non-partisan treatment of the great issue; they were one in the strongest expressions of loyalty. To the former statement there was an exception in the tendency of certain Conservative papers to revive the Naval controversy and to claim that the war was an absolute proof of the accuracy

of party declarations in 1909 as to the existence of an emergency and of the patriotism of the Borden Government proposals to meet it; there was also an exception in parts of the Liberal press which argued that militarism in all countries was the greatest of evils and that jingoes and militarists in Canada were as bad an influence in their way as the makers of the German war machine — and that most of them were in the Conservative party!

War had become imminent at the end of July, and the response of Canadian published opinion was prompt. The Toronto *Globe* (Liberal) of July 31 declared that "Canada must do her part as an integral portion of the Empire, and assuredly must discharge the imperative first duty of self-defence. When Britain is at war Canada is at war." On August 4 it took a more definite line and one to which it consistently adhered afterwards: "Because it is the world's fight for freedom Britain, reluctantly but resolutely, speaks the word, and Canada also answers Ay." The Toronto *News* (Conservative) of August 1 was clear in its views: "We have to deal with a situation without parallel in the world's history. All that we have of courage and character may be tested. But if we all resolve to be patient and prudent, and loyal, there can be no serious disaster, nor any irremediable hardship. Let there be co-operation between the political leaders to assist the Mother Country. Let there be co-operation to steady markets and safe-guard common interests. Let there be a truce to Naval controversies, and generous recognition of the common loyalty of Canadians to the Empire."

The Toronto *Star* (Liberal) of the same day also was explicit: "There can be no question as to Canada's duty if the European War goes on. This country must do all it can to support the arms of Britain, and there needs to be an instant closing up of the ranks and a hearty support of the Borden Government in all measures that will be taken to meet the situation." The Toronto *World* (Con-

servative) of August 4 urged that Canada contribute not less than 50,000 trained men to the Imperial forces and do it at once; at the same time it believed that a home reserve of 100,000 men should be organized. The Liberal organ in Winnipeg, the *Free Press,* urged (August 6) that faction should cease and declared that the Borden Government would have "the co-operation, sympathy and support" of the Opposition in Parliament. In Party comment the Halifax *Herald* (Conservative) quoted in its issue of August 1 from Sir Robert Borden's warnings of December 5, 1912, and especially his conclusion in the Dreadnought speech: "But to-day, while the clouds are heavy and we hear the booming of the distant thunder, and see the lightning flashes above the horizon, we cannot, and we will not, wait and deliberate until any impending storm shall have burst upon us in fury and disaster." The Montreal *Star* (August 5) took a similar line, with, also a vigorous attack on Pacifists: "The emergency has emerged one year ahead of schedule time. The German menace has flashed into a German war. The two greatest battle fleets in history are facing each other in the North Sea; and there is not a Canadian gun-boat — let alone a Dreadnought — with the squadrons which are defending the heart of the Empire. But Canada is preparing with the utmost enthusiasm and loyalty to do what it can."

Meanwhile individual opinion had been finding vigorous expression. The Montreal *Star* invited telegraphed opinions from regimental commanders, senators and members of the Commons, political leaders, mayors of cities, etc., and published page after page of replies between August 1 and August 5. The overwhelming majority supported immediate contribution of men and money in aid of Great Britain. There were a few exceptions and these of a political character. Senator Louis Lavergne, for instance, on August 3, thought the question premature but declared that "if the Borden Government had built the ships

authorized in 1910 we would be in a good position to protect our country and help England in protecting the transfer of food-stuffs." Senator J. P. B. Casgrain, another Liberal, was as explicit on the Canadian Navy subject as some Conservatives were on the proposed Dreadnought gift of 1912: "My opinion is we should do everything we possibly can do; send men, money, everything, to help the Motherland. My only regret is that Borden did not accept the tenders for ships when he came into power — if he had we should now have nine cruisers, built to plans prepared and approved by the British Admiralty, which would have been just what they wanted."

Napoleon Drouin, Mayor of Quebec, declared that "all we can do to help the Empire in money, arms, and men should be done," and Alphonse Verville, Labour M.P., for Maisonneuve, Que., said: "I can quite see that it might be necessary in order to protect Canada that the Canadian should fight outside his own country. In that event we should be prepared to give Great Britain all the assistance she needs." P. E. Lamarche, M.P., a Nationalist leader from Quebec, declared that "in this case it will be the heart of the Empire that is attacked and we must do what we can to defend it," while Mèdéric Martin, M.P., the Mayor of Montreal, and a fervent French Canadian, proclaimed the war "as much in defence of Canada as of Great Britain." Canada's duty was "to aid Great Britain with all its strength." To French Canadians he said: "If you are needed it is your duty to fight." Senator L. G. Power thought Canada should "await developments before undertaking to send troops to Europe." Lucien Pacaud, M.P., thought Canada's first duty was to look after her own defence; after that to help Great Britain if necessary. Out of sixty mayors of towns and cities only two were not in favour of instant aid in men and money to Britain. Of these two Noë Tanguay, Thetford Mines, Ont., thought that on this and all similar occasions "the noblest duty of Can-

ada is to stick to the soil and work for all it can produce;" F. Lachance, St. Boniface, Man., declared that "whatever military force Canada has at its disposal should be prepared to protect our Dominion."

Liberal leaders used expressions of vigorous loyalty. E. M. Macdonald, M.P., declared on August 3 that if war came and aid was required "Canada should promptly assist England whole heartedly." F. B. Carvell, M.P., stated that Canada "should contribute everything in her power both in men and money, and Parliament should be immediately called together for the purpose of voting all necessary funds." Others were equally explicit. The Hon. Frank Oliver, M.P., declared that: "Britain must be supported to the last limit in standing by her allies. Britain has men, money and ships in abundance. Food supply is her vulnerable point. Besides sending volunteers to Europe as evidence of good-will, Canada's most needed service is to maintain normal conditions of trade, finance and order, on and within her shores, so that adequate food supplies may be produced and sent forward." Senator Hewitt Bostock stated that in the event of Great Britain becoming involved "Canada would be with her and support her with all the means in her power." The Hon. George P. Graham declared that "should the hour of Britain's trial-time arrive, drawn by the enduring ties of affection and impelled by the instinct of self-preservation, Canada will be found at her side." At a meeting in Rawdon, Quebec, on August 3, the Hon. R. Lemieux, M.P., said: "What is to be done by Canada if the Motherland is involved, as seems quite possible? Canada being an integral part of the British Empire, is certainly at war when the Empire is at war. The reason for our help is that the British flag is our flag, and because it protects our rights, our liberties and everything that is dear and sacred in this free land. We should rally as one man to the defence, first of our coasts and then of the great Empire to which we

belong." Sir Wilfrid Laurier arrived in Ottawa on August 4 and at once issued this statement:

> We all hope and pray that the effort of Sir Edward Grey may yet be successful in persuading the nations of the Continent to the restoration of peace. I confess that the prospects are very doubtful. It is probable and almost certain that England will have to take her share in the conflict not only for the protection of her own interests, but for the protection of France and the higher civilization of which these two nations are to-day the noblest expression. The policy of the Liberal party under such painful circumstances is well known. I have often declared that if the Mother Country were ever in danger, or if danger ever threatened, Canada would render assistance to the fullest extent of her power. In view of the critical nature of the situation I have cancelled all my meetings. Pending such great questions there should be a truce to party strife.

As to the people in general there were many demonstrations of loyalty and patriotism. In Montreal on August 1 and August 3 huge crowds paraded the streets carrying French and British flags, singing songs such as La Marseillaise and Rule Britannia, cheering speakers and watching the bulletins, filling the picture theatres with enthusiastic noise and, by the latter date, sending 5,000 French and Belgian reservists to their respective Consulates in response to the demands of national mobilization. In Toronto there was not very great enthusiasm. People seemed to be burdened with a sense of the awful nature of the event; the crowds were there but, with exceptions such as the scene when Britain's war declaration was flashed on the bulletin boards, the subject was taken very soberly and quietly.

Winnipeg witnessed far more stirring spectacles when once the early tension of anxiety was over and the issue settled for the moment. Public feeling showed itself in varied forms of enthusiasm with an afterwards proven

statement in *The Telegram* of August 6: "The men who have cheered the loudest will be among the first to offer their services." Impromptu parades, waving flags, decorated automobiles, cheering crowds, patriotic speeches — all the conditions incident to a Western populace face to face with a great event — were visible in those strenuous days. So it was on the night of August 4 in Edmonton, Regina, Lethbridge, Calgary, Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat, Vancouver, Victoria and hundreds of smaller centres. At Quebec English and French and Irish paraded together in an outburst of combined patriotism and listened to a speech in which Albert Sévigny, M.P., declared that: "England has risen to the occasion. We will go into this struggle of giants with a united front." At Ottawa, in London, St. John and Halifax, there were similar demonstrations. The strains of "Rule Britannia" rang through Canada from ocean to ocean in a way, and with a feeling, which had never been known in Canadian history; the British Navy was, indeed, coming into its own.

This loudly expressed war-feeling soon passed; it was, in any case, only an exhibition of patriotism; it nowhere represented the basic thought of intelligent Canadians. To them, and in the ordinary conversation of thinking men, the war was an awful shadow creeping over the land, threatening to darken the scene with death and disaster, holding untold possibilities of evil within its sphere. Its effect upon the financial situation was first and most immediate in importance. After that the possibility of the British fleets being able to bottle up or hold the great naval machine of Germany in the North Sea; the question, turning upon this, of the safety of Canadian ocean-borne commerce totalling $500,000,000 and of 10,000 British or Canadian ships reaching Canada yearly with a tonnage of 10,500,000; the problem clearly visible in United States relationship and the Republic's nine million Teuton population and other anti-British elements; the less-known but

very real troubles which might come from the German population in the Canadian West — all these and various local issues were in the hearts of many.

A small number of Canadians thought chiefly of the infinitely greater perils facing the Mother land, feared and yet hoped in the supremacy of the Navy, wondered what would be the fate of Britain's tiny military force when, in union with France and little Belgium, it met the rolling might of German armies. To those who understood the situation, and at first they were in a small minority, that great German machine of 5,000,000 trained, disciplined and well-armed soldiers seemed likely to plough its way through every obstacle to Paris and Calais. Then, if the Navy failed her, God help England, and after her Canada! But the large majority of Canadians were optimistic and trusted in the undefined greatness of Britain, the silent strength of her Navy, the slow but sure action of Russia, the resisting power of France. Others were quietly indifferent and afterwards, in recruiting crises, made up the apathetic masses whom it was so hard to move. To the optimist and the man who said in his heart that this was not Canada's war, to the patriot and the incipient shirker alike, the first feeling was that Canada was safe; that there could only be one end to the struggle and that end was victory for the British Allies. With such a feeling and such hopes they strove to overcome the shadow of war, to put aside deep thought upon the tremendous issues involved, to leave action in the hands of the Government, to have business go on as usual.

CHAPTER III

MEETING A CRISIS OF NATIONAL LIFE

WHILE every resource in British diplomacy was being strained to avert the final issue of war, and the British fleet, which had been manœuvering in the North Sea, stood practically mobilized for battle; while Europe was preparing for the worst and the financial situation at London was becoming more and more critical and unpleasant; the various Governments of the British Empire were kept in touch with existing conditions, and, as the end approached, loyal despatches proffering aid poured into Downing Street from all around the world — Canada being one of the first to proffer loyal support and active aid. To Great Britain there were three vital points of policy and preparation at this juncture and each of them affected, though in differing degrees, the situation of every Canadian and Australian, or British subject anywhere, under the flag. The first was the Naval situation and that was believed to be satisfactory through the readiness of the Fleet; the second was the military situation and that, obviously, had to wait upon international events; the third was the financial condition with its chances of a vast collapse in the world's system of credit and commerce and the consequent destruction of Britain's dominance.

In the beginning, as the war-clouds grew black on the horizon, the delicate financial fabric which centred in London had begun to waver, the market for securities became demoralized, conditions changed from depression to one verging on panic, liquidation of securities to an unprecedented extent — caused in large measure by the sale of German-held stocks — proceeded. During the ten days in which this stock liquidation occurred (July 20–30, 1914) there was a total depreciation, according to the London

Bankers' Magazine, of $940,000,000 on 387 representative securities valued at $16,000,000,000. On July 30 the Bank of England raised its rate from 3 to 4 per cent, the Bank of France from 3½ to 4½, the Bank of Belgium from 4 to 5 per cent. On the morning of the 31st, the London rate went up to 8 per cent; and it was decided not to open the Stock Exchange; on the next day the Bank of England rate rose to 10 per cent. Press writers of the moment described, with more panic than accuracy, the world's entire system of credit as having broken down and the closing of all the chief stock exchanges in the world seemed to emphasize the statement. At the banks in London there was considerable demand for gold and crowds waited outside the Bank of England, but there was no rush, in the sense of a panic, though there was in London, as elsewhere in the world's centres, a tense, strained anxiety that was positively painful. Sterling exchange was practically suspended, all European bank rates advanced to highest possible points, the Bank Holiday of Monday, August 3, in London, was extended for three days, a temporary moratorium as to cash settlements was announced on August 2, and was extended by legislation to many lines of finance on the 6th — two days after war had commenced.

By this time, however, the readjustment was underway, the cool, methodical British mind was beginning to arrange matters to suit a new and unprecedented situation, Mr. Lloyd George, as Chancellor of the Exchequer (August 5), summoned a Conference of leading bankers, financiers, and manufacturers and stated publicly that there was no failure of credit though some of the existing machinery had broken down and that, as five pound notes were not easily convertible into gold, the Government would issue one pound notes and ten shilling notes obtainable at the Bank of England — and this money went into circulation to an eventual total of $50,000,000; postal orders were made legal tender on the same terms and also replaced five pound

notes, or gold, for payment by the Savings Banks. The Bank of England rate on the same day went down to 6 per cent and soon thereafter became normal. The Government undertook to guarantee war-risks on wheat and flour shipped from Canada or the United States under existing contracts. On August 31 the moratorium was extended until October 4 and then to November 4, when it quietly disappeared.

During this period the whole policy of the British Government, in dealing with the financial situation, was wise, shrewd, far-seeing, and far-reaching. Mr. Lloyd George, whether through instinctive capacity or the wisdom which knows where to get and how to use the right advice, proved himself a great Finance Minister. At a moment when British and, indeed, world finance and commerce were threatened with collapse the Chancellor had arranged that the Government, or in other words Great Britain, should guarantee the Bank of England against any loss incurred in the discounting of approved bills of exchange of all nations accepted prior to August 4. The liability was an immense one to assume at that early stage of the struggle, and was estimated by the Chancellor on November 27, following, at $1,750,000,000. As time went on, of course, such figures, all historic or precedent figures in finance, as in war materials and in armies, were dwarfed in the immensities of the struggle.

In Canada the initial actions of the Borden Government were swift and successful. During the tense days preceding the final momentous decision the Duke of Connaught, as Governor-General, and Sir Robert Borden, as Premier and Minister of External Affairs, had been kept fully advised of the general situation though not as to all the delicate details of negotiation. His Royal Highness, the Governor-General, was away in the West — at Banff in the Rocky Mountains — and did not get back to Ottawa until the morning of the eventful 4th of August; despatches

reaching him from the Colonial Secretary at London were, however, wired back to the Government at the capital and preparations for eventualities were kept underway. The Prime Minister was also in constant communication by cable with Mr. G. H. Perley, acting High Commissioner, who, in turn, was in close touch with the British Government and with current diplomatic action and interchanges. As early as July 29 Ottawa correspondents of Government newspapers discussed the Imperial responsibilities and duty of Canada in the event of war. On the 30th official news of a serious nature arrived at Ottawa and Colonel Hughes, Minister of Militia, came hastily from his home at Lindsay; announcements appeared in the press that Canadian participation in the pending struggle — with infantry, cavalry, and artillery — was assured; a special meeting of the Militia Council was held and the statement issued that a first contingent of 20,000 or 25,000 men would be arranged and preparations be at once proceeded with; the Ottawa *Journal* pointed out the serious nature of the crisis and declared it "an axiom accepted by both political parties" that Canada was at war when the Empire was at war.

On the 31st, when war was still trembling in the balance, with the Great Powers in the last stages of diplomatic conflict and preliminary stages of military preparation, the Government issued an order from Ottawa bidding H.M.C.S. *Rainbow* to cancel a pending trip to Behring Sea and to remain in the vicinity of Victoria and Vancouver; the Prime Minister passed through Toronto on his way home from the Muskoka Lakes and told *The Globe* that the situation was "grave and serious", while the same paper had a despatch from Ottawa stating that there were not enough properly-trained officers and general equipment in Canada for more than 20,000 men. Sir Robert Borden reached Ottawa on August 1 and held almost continuous consultations then, and on Sunday (the 2nd), with the ministers in town, for the settlement of details in preparation and the

exchange of frequent cable messages with the Imperial Government. Some of the ministers were still in the West or scattered elsewhere for summer trips, but all were rushing homewards. A special *Gazette* on the 3rd announced the British calling out of Royal Naval Reserves and the duty of those living in Canada; Sir George E. Foster abandoned his work on the Dominions' Trade Commission and arrived in Ottawa; French soil was invaded by German troops and Russia and Germany were already at war; the Canadian Government was warned of the presence of German cruisers in North American waters; and Sir Richard McBride, Premier of British Columbia, rushed through a purchase of two Submarines at Seattle. On August 4 the Canadian and other Dominion or Colonial Governments were advised by cable from Mr. Harcourt, Colonial Secretary, that "all legislative and other steps to enable the taking of prompt action, if required, should be taken". A few hours later the great War had commenced. Meanwhile, on August 1, when the danger had become obvious and imminent to all who were in touch with the situation, the Governor-General, after communication with his Ministers, had sent the two following despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

> I. In view of the impending danger of war involving the Empire my Advisers are anxiously considering the most effective means of rendering every possible aid and they will welcome any suggestions and advice which Imperial Naval and Military authorities may deem it expedient to offer. They are confident that a considerable force would be available for service abroad. A question has been mooted respecting the status of any Canadian force serving abroad as under Section 69 of the Canadian Militia Act the active Militia can only be placed on active service beyond Canada for the defence thereof. It has been suggested that regiments might enlist as Imperial troops for stated period, Canadian Government undertaking to make all necessary financial provi-

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

A Canadian Gun Firing on a German Trench Mortar Battery

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

The Zero Hour

sion for their equipment, pay and maintenance. This proposal has not yet been maturely considered here and my Advisers would be glad to have views of Imperial Government thereon.

II. My Advisers, while expressing their most earnest hope that peaceful solution of existing international difficulties may be achieved and their strong desire to co-operate in every possible way for that purpose, wish me to convey to His Majesty's Government the firm assurance that if unhappily war should ensue the Canadian people will be united in a common resolve to put forth every sacrifice necessary to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of our Empire.

Mr. Harcourt replied with a grateful expression of thanks and a promise to take up details as soon as the situation became settled; similar offers poured in from Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, and all parts of the British world; on August 4, following upon the declaration of war, H.M. the King sent to Canada and other parts of the Empire the following despatch: "I desire to express to my people of the Overseas Dominions with what appreciation and pride I have received the messages from their respective Governments during the last few days. These spontaneous assurances of their fullest support recalled to me the generous self-sacrificing help given by them in the past to the Mother-country. I shall be strengthened in the discharge of the great responsibilities which rest upon me by the confident belief that in this time of trial my Empire will stand united, calm, resolute, trusting in God."

In reply H.R.H. the Governor-General sent the following despatch: "In the name of the Dominion of Canada, I humbly thank Your Majesty for your gracious message of approval. Canada stands united from the Pacific to the Atlantic in her determination to uphold the honour and traditions of our Empire." On August 5 the vast conflict had commenced and on the 6th Mr. Harcourt cabled to the Governor-General at Ottawa that: "His Majesty's Gov-

ernment gratefully accepts offer of your Ministers to send Expeditionary Force to this country and would be glad if it could be despatched as soon as possible." The composition suggested on the following day was one Division of about 22,500 men, which compared favourably with the expected British expedition to France of 100,000 or so. On the 12th it was requested, in reply to Canadian Government inquiries, that army reservists be sent home at the first opportunity.

Meantime the Government had made provision (August 3) to meet a threatened financial crisis in Canada by authorizing the Minister of Finance (1) to issue Dominion Notes to such an amount as might be necessary against such securities as might be deposited by the Banks and approved by the Minister of Finance; (2) authorizing the chartered banks to make payment in bank notes instead of in gold or Dominion notes until further official announcement; (3) permitting the banks to issue from date excess circulation to amounts not exceeding 15 per cent of the combined, unimpaired capital and reserve fund of each institution. In this connection four leading Canadian bankers, D. R. Wilkie, Sir Edmund Walker, Sir F. Williams-Taylor and E. L. Pease, had been in consultation at Ottawa with Hon. W. T. White, the Minister of Finance. Mr. White's action at this crisis saved the financial situation in Canada, averted a threatened run on the Banks, and practically restored confidence to the whole trembling fabric of Canadian credit.

The action of the Minister of Militia was equally prompt and efficient. When war threatened, and then broke out, Colonel Sam Hughes took charge with a vim and in a fighting, aggressive way characteristic of the man. He organized and worked and travelled and spoke in every direction. On July 30 without a moment's hesitation, or the calling of Parliament or even a meeting of the Cabinet, he had hurried to Ottawa and held an emergency meeting of the Militia Council — Col. E. Fiset, D.S.O., Deputy Min-

ister; Col. W. G. Gwatkin, Chief of the General Staff; Col. V. A. S. Williams, A.D.C., Adjutant-General; Major-Gen. D. A. Macdonald, C.M.G., I.S.O., Quartermaster-General — which was also attended by Lieut.-Col. E. W. B. Morrison, D.S.O., Director of Artillery, and Col. H. Smith, Judge Advocate-General. It was at once announced, with the approval of the Governor-General and Prime Minister, that a First Contingent of at least 20,000 men would be sent if war actually came.

Offers of aid poured in from all parts of the country with officers, men and whole regiments volunteering for active service; by the time war was declared a considerable force was already assured; within a week after British acceptance of the First Contingent a great new Camp, with every modern facility and improvement, was under construction at Valcartier near Quebec; by August 29 detachments of troops were on their way thither from all parts of the Dominion, the bustle of military preparation was visible everywhere, and, in less than three weeks from the plunging of an unprepared people into an unexpected war, more than an Army Division was in training outside Quebec, Canadian manufacturers were rushing work upon equipment and even the construction of shells and munitions was under way. On September 22, at an initial expenditure of $20,000,000, the First Contingent of 32,000 men sailed in silence and secresy down the St. Lawrence to the sea, where great British battleships convoyed them to England's shores.

Meantime, varied and prompt action had been taken by the Government in various directions. As a result of suggestions presented early in the year by Sir Joseph Pope, Under-Secretary for External Affairs, and following the lines of recommendations made by the Colonial Secretary in 1913, the Departments of the Government had been organized under a general plan to meet such an emergency as now arose and it was found that each Department fell

naturally and easily into its proper place in the new and critical work laid upon it, that they all worked smoothly and in systematized style, while the net operations were along lines similar to those taken in other parts of the Empire. Events moved rapidly. Prior to the actual declaration of war the two Canadian training cruisers, *Niobe* and *Rainbow,* and a little later the British Columbia submarines, were placed at the disposition of the Admiralty, while the small Naval Volunteer force was summoned for active service; immediately after the issue was called troops were ordered to guard the Welland Canal and Parliament was summoned for August 18th.

On August 5 the Cabinet sat in almost continuous session and issued all kinds of Orders-in-Council associated with the state of war into which the country and Empire were plunged. An official Memorandum issued from Ottawa at the close of that day said: "Action has been taken and is being taken by the Government in every available way and by every available means, to meet the present situation. They are in constant communication with the Imperial authorities. The necessary legislation to be submitted to Parliament at the approaching session is being prepared as speedily as possible so that there may be no delay after Parliament meets. Many important and necessary steps which have been taken by the Government will require ratification by Parliament. The Government is proceeding on the principle that such steps should be taken without waiting one moment for strict legal authority, and that any necessary ratification therefor should be procured afterwards from Parliament." The Duke of Connaught had attended the morning sitting of the Cabinet and in the afternoon received the Opposition Leader in a brief conference — following upon Sir Wilfrid Laurier's announcement that partisan action and conflict would be abandoned.

Precautions were taken by the Government to censor all cable and wireless messages, and during the early, critical days of the War the process was very strict; careful oversight, also, was kept of those who were suspected of being German agents or spies. German and Austrian Consuls were ordered to leave the country at once. On August 6 the Governor-General sent the following despatch to the Colonial Secretary: "My Advisers request me to inform you that the people of Canada through their Government desire to offer 1,000,000 bags of flour of 98 pounds each as a gift to the people of the United Kingdom to be placed at the disposal of His Majesty's Government and to be used for such purposes as they may deem expedient." The Imperial Government accepted "with deep gratitude the splendid and welcome gift", and stated (August 7) that it would be of "the greatest use for steadying prices and relief of distress". As to the rest "we can never forget the generosity and promptitude of this gift and the patriotism from which it springs". The cost of the flour was estimated in the press at $3,000,000, requiring 200 trains of 30 cars each to carry it to the port of shipment and a small fleet of vessels to carry it across the Atlantic.

Amongst the Orders-in-Council and Royal proclamations issued during the first four days of war one dealt elaborately with the retention of enemy ships in Canadian waters; another prohibited the exportation to all foreign ports in Europe and on the Mediterranean and Black Sea — with the exception of France, Russia (except the Baltic ports), Spain and Portugal — of a long series of articles associated with War construction and Army or Medical supplies, etc.; another forbade (by proclamation of the King) any British subject during the War "to contribute to or participate in, or assist in floating of any loan" raised by the German Emperor or his Government or "otherwise to aid, abet or assist the said Emperor or Government" and defined such acts as treasonable and those concerned as

traitors liable to "the utmost rigour of the law"; a similar Proclamation warned all British subjects in British Dominions against trading with the German Empire or persons in that Empire, either by purchase or sale of merchandise, the use of any British ship for such purpose, the contract of any kind of insurance or entry into any new commercial, financial or other obligation, with the enemy.

An Order-in-Council on August 7 dealt with German aliens living in Canada, while other Orders or Proclamations provided for the establishment of British Prize Court rules and orders of procedure and practice and for the further extension of the prohibition of exports to countries other than the British Empire, so as to include arms of all kinds, projectiles, powder and explosives, gun mountings, etc., petroleum and its products, animals suitable for war-use, cotton for explosives, oils of certain kinds, surgical dressings, etc., military clothing and equipment, implements, etc., for the manufacture or repair of war material, coal — the last item being afterwards changed to exclude Denmark, Norway and Sweden. When the formal outbreak of war with Austria-Hungary took place on August 12, and later on with Turkey and Bulgaria, identical Orders and Proclamations were issued to apply to those countries.

Meantime the Prime Minister had been in close touch with Mr. Perley, Acting Commissioner in London and Minister without Portfolio. Mr. Perley cabled on August 5 and following days, full details of the British Government's shipping insurance plan, the moratorium enactment and its later extensions, with brief particulars of the various Proclamations rendered necessary by War conditions. On the 6th Sir Robert Borden cabled as follows: "Informed large number of Canadians in United Kingdom and Europe unable to use letters of credit or otherwise obtain funds for passage home. If this information correct and if you deem it advisable Government prepared to establish credit of £20,000 in London to be paid out upon such security and

conditions as you may deem proper." Mr. Perley replied on the 7th that the Banks had reopened and that no difficulty then existed in cashing letters of credit. The position on the Continent had also improved. On the 8th Mr. Perley wired: "Have brought to attention Government difficulty financing food shipments from Canada. Will also discuss same with Bank of England directors Monday. Financial conditions here much easier. New issue small bank notes well received. All banks open yesterday doing business in ordinary way after four successive Bank holidays. Am informed in many cases deposits yesterday larger than withdrawals."

Canada's Parliament met in the first War session of its history on August 18. Under grey skies, with grave and serious demeanour, and troops clad in khaki, the members gathered to listen to a Governor-General's Speech from the Throne which dealt exclusively with War issues, announced the past and present and proposed policy of the Government in this connection, and referred to questions which were echoing back from the shores of France where British troops had just landed and from the fields of Belgium where the great German war-machine was beginning to sweep forward on its road to Paris. The Duke of Connaught was accompanied by the Duchess and Princes Patricia, and in his Speech stated that "very grave events vitally affecting the interests of all His Majesty's Dominions have transpired since prorogation. The unfortunate outbreak of war made it immediately imperative for my Ministers to take extraordinary measures for the defence of Canada and for the maintenance of the honour and integrity of our Empire". Legislation was promised along these lines and a high tribute paid to Canadian sentiment and action.

During the brief debate on the Address Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as Opposition leader, made a short, studied, yet eloquent statement of the situation, of the necessity for

waiving formalities, for avoiding partisanship, for meeting and dealing with the stupendous struggle just beginning, as united, loyal Canadians and British subjects: "Speaking for those who sit around me, speaking for the wide constituencies which we represent in this House, I hasten to say that to all these measures we are prepared to give immediate assent. If in what has been done, or what remains to be done, there may be anything which in our judgment should not be done or should be differently done, we raise no question, we take no exception, we offer no criticism, and shall offer no criticism so long as there is danger at the Front." Sir Edward Grey, he declared, had done his utmost to preserve peace: "Sir, it will go down on a still nobler page of history that England could have averted this war if she had been willing to forego the position which she has maintained for many centuries at the head of European civilization; if she had been willing to desert her allies, to sacrifice her obligations, to allow the German Emperor to bully heroic Belgium, to trample upon defenceless Luxembourg, to rush upon isolated France, and to put down his booted heel upon continental Europe." A brilliant eulogy of the Belgian people followed and Sir Wilfrid's peroration described hope that "from this painful war the British Empire will emerge with a new bond of union, the pride of all its citizens, and a living light to all other nations".

Sir Robert Borden commenced his speech with words of appreciation for the patriotic phrases of his opponent, and then passed into a careful, analytical study of the causes of the War and the position of the British Government. He reviewed, briefly, the action of the Canadian Government during the critical days before and after August 4, laid some of the official correspondence with the Imperial Government before the House, stated that "the men of Canada who are going to the Front are going as free men by voluntary enlistment — as free men in a free country"

and alluded to the Royal Navy, its splendid organization and effectiveness. His final words were eloquent: "In the awful dawn of the greatest war the world has ever known, in the hour when peril confronts us such as this Empire has not faced for a hundred years, every vain or unnecessary word seems a discord. As to our duty, all are agreed; we stand shoulder to shoulder with Britain and the other British Dominions in this quarrel. And that duty we shall not fail to fulfil as the honour of Canada demands. Not for love of battle, not for love of conquest, not for greed of possessions, but for the cause of honour, to maintain solemn pledges, to uphold principles of liberty, to withstand forces that would convert the world into an armed camp; yea, in the very name of the peace that we sought at any cost save that of dishonour."

Mr. Doherty, Minister of Justice, then moved Resolutions, afterward put into legislation and passed, which confirmed recent Orders-in-Council and Proclamations and granted wide powers as to the future control of affairs during the time of war. On the 30th Mr. White, Minister of Finance, offered his War budget in a brief speech which described the marked decline in revenue during the past four months of over $10,000,000, accompanied, however, by improvement in financial and commercial conditions at the end of July and a favourable outlook which the War, of course, had changed. He referred to the recent and immense shock to international finance, the general loss of confidence and demand for gold, the throwing upon the market of huge volumes of securities for sale at any price, the losses to individuals and drainage of gold from great financial centres, the individual hoarding of gold which followed the widespread suspension of specie payments, the brief collapse of commerce (before the British Navy asserted its supremacy), the closing of the world's bourses and stock exchanges. After giving certain details he stated that a total of $43,500,000 above the estimated revenue of

$135,000,000 would be required to meet capital and war expenditures and a maturing loan of $8,000,000 up to the close of the fiscal year of March 31, 1915. Various tariff and excise changes along the lines of special taxation were also detailed, covering many subjects but most largely affecting coffee, sugar, spirits, and tobacco.

In the House, on August 21, the Prime Minister presented his Bill for granting $50,000,000 for (a) the defence and security of Canada; (b) the conduct of naval and military operations in or beyond Canada; (c) promoting the continuance of trade, industry and business communications whether by means of insurance or indemnity against war risk or otherwise; and (d) the carrying out of any measures deemed necessary or advisable by the Governor-in-Council in consequence of the existence of a state of war. He explained that the Division now being organized was to consist of 22,318 men; that the total cost of equipment, pay and maintenance was about $1,000 per man; that the total upon this basis for mobilization and general defence expenses to March 31, 1915, would be $30,000,000. This measure, as with other war legislation, passed the House unanimously. A Finance Bill presented by Mr. White authorized (1) the making of advances to Chartered banks by the issue of Dominion notes upon the pledge of approved securities deposited with the Minister of Finance; (2) authorized the payment by Chartered banks of their own or other bank notes as legal tender; (3) authorized a special excess circulation not exceeding 15 per cent of the combined unimpaired capital and reserve funds of the Chartered banks; (4) suspended the redemption in gold of Dominion notes; (5) authorized the proclamation, if deemed necessary, of a moratorium or postponement of payment of all debts, obligations and liabilities under specific conditions. Another Act respecting Dominion notes and confirming a $20,000,000 increase in their issue was also passed without exception being taken. Other important measures

were passed with unanimity and despatch. That called the War Measure Act gave large powers to the Government, including:

(1) Censorship and the control and suppression of publications, writings, maps, plans, photographs, communications;

(2) Arrest, detention, exclusion and deportation;

(3) Control of the harbours, ports and territorial waters of Canada and the movements of vessels;

(4) Transportation by land, air and water and the control of the transport of persons and things;

(5) Trading, exportation, importation, production and manufacture;

(6) Appropriation, control, forfeiture and disposition of property and of the use thereof.

The Immigration Act was also amended so as to give control over residents of Canada, whether aliens or citizens, who should leave Canada to aid or abet the enemy and then attempt to return. The Canadian Patriotic Fund was established with a large number of representative men as incorporators, and with the following statement: "The objects of the Corporation shall be to collect, administer, and distribute the fund hereinbefore mentioned for the assistance in case of need of the wives, children and dependent relations of officers and men, residents in Canada who, during the present War, may be on active service with the naval and military forces of the British Empire and Great Britain's allies." Then came the close of a memorable four days' Session (August 22) marked with words of spontaneous patriotism which stamped the general sentiment of Parliament and reached a high level of thought.

If the policy of the Government at this crisis was lofty in tone and effective in practice, the co-operation of the Opposition was also patriotic and efficient. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's proposal at the outbreak of war and his attitude during the War Session of Parliament involved the elimi-

nation of party and full support to the Government. Nothing official was said as to Coalition though all the evidence points to a Liberal willingness at that time to join in a responsible administration of the nation's resources for purposes of war. In Toronto on September 12 Sir Wilfrid eulogized the superiority of British institutions, referred to the courage of Great Britain in granting political freedom to South Africa and preparing the way for liberty in India, spoke of Britain as the one Power in Europe which trusted to voluntary armies and declared that as a result of this war "the nations will take an example from Britain and do away with militarism, conscription and enforced military service, and rely on the good-will of the people to supply all the soldiers they want". There also would be a full vindication of the principle that "in national life as well as private life contracts are made to be observed, and woe to those who break them". In other speeches at this time he took a similar stand. Other Liberal leaders — notably Mr. Lemieux in Quebec and Mr. Graham in Ontario — were strenuous in their personal support of Britain at this crisis, in their pledge of the nation's aid to the Empire, in their belief as to the justice and necessity of Britain's war-policy. The Toronto *Globe* (August 26) urged a war-budget of 100 rather than of 50 million dollars and a call for 100,000 men rather than 20,000; the Toronto *Star,* the Montreal *Herald,* the Manitoba *Free Press* and other Liberal organs gave unqualified support to Britain and her Allies, to Canada's participation in the conflict.

Taken in a wide, sweeping view of the situation, looked back upon in the light of history-making events which followed and in the strain and stress of that new and preliminary period of war, Canada's Government and the leaders of politics, thought, commerce and industry deserve great praise; the Canadian people as a whole deserve appreciation for many things which they did and for others which

they did not do. It was all so new, so strenuous, so different from anything in past experience. During the first months of war, also, selfishness had not had time to develop, the enormous inflow of money for munitions had not commenced, the response to recruiting appeals was still a spontaneous, patriotic action, public opinion was yet in suspense as to the eventual result of the vast struggle, the cloud was still too dark for optimists to roll it out of sight as they afterwards tried to do, party strife was silent though flashes of fire were on the horizon, and the country as a whole was slowly rising into a course of action and life which was to concurrently evoke the greater patriotism and the meaner passions of the people.

CHAPTER IV

THE WAR MINISTRY OF CANADA

THE Government which had to face this vital issue of a war requiring every resource in British men and money, in loyal support from every portion of the Empire, in co-operation from every lover of British liberty and institutions throughout the world, was new to all such responsibilities, comparatively new, indeed, to the practice and science of government. Sir Robert Borden and his Ministers had only been three years in power and only one member of the Government had ever had the practical experience of being in a Dominion Cabinet. Naturally, it had not been constituted for war purposes and, unlike that of Great Britain, did not have a familiarity with the subject which proximity to Europe gave and to which experience in England's little wars was supposed to add. It did, however, at the outset have the practically unanimous support of the people of Canada as expressed in Parliament, voiced in the press, discussed in the pulpit and on the platform. It had the earnest and continuous co-operation of the Imperial Government in matters of finance and the very effective advice and aid of Field Marshal the Duke of Connaught, over a wide range of military affairs and policy and in respect to varied details of war administration and strategy. This support of the people, in these early stages, was one of the most amazing things which evolved out of Canada's part in the War. Love of Autonomy, fears of Imperialism, ideals of Independence, discontents caused by distance from the heart of the Empire, influences of American contiguity, even racial and religious differences were forgotten and the people stood with surprising unanimity behind their leaders.

The Prime Minister, therefore, in this period of the War, and for the first time in Canadian history, was the leader of an entire people as well as of a great party; to handle the crisis and the work required special qualities of coolness, caution, and concentration. That Sir Robert Borden rose to the occasion and did his duty in an adequate way, without fuss, or flurry, or excitement, must be the high tribute of the future when the great issues, the tremendous strain, the silent labours of these months and years, come up for historic judgment. That the public during the ensuing years of war did not fully realize this was obvious; in the busy life of the masses, the strenuous competition of business, the varied attractions of a crowded city or the isolated contentment of a rural home, men forgot at times the importance of the war itself, to say nothing of the difficulties facing the Prime Minister of their country. Personally, Sir Robert Borden was an admirable head of the Administration at such a crisis. Unthinking people called continually during these years for quicker action, impulsive people wanted all kinds of impracticable policies and ideals realized at once, others demanded something spectacular in oratory or effort, or denounced details which they did not understand as parts of a whole. The public loves a Winston Churchill or a Leon Gambetta for a time — and then forgets him; it worships a Lloyd George when he is somewhat iconoclastic in policy and quickly denounces him when he becomes a constructive statesman. Sir Robert, in the early months of the war and through the ever-increasing political and national difficulties of a later time, maintained an attitude of coolness and patience admirably suited to the period; refused to be rushed into action or pushed back into re-action; pursued his settled policies, quietly, persistently and with ultimate effectiveness.

As with Mr. Asquith or Mr. Lloyd George in Great Britain the Premier had difficulties in his Cabinet and

differences in his Party, problems of a racial character, and complex troubles in recruiting and munition-making, obstacles of a partisan nature which began to develop in 1915. Taken altogether, and in the light which time slowly but surely throws upon such periods of history, there is no doubt that Sir Robert Borden's responsibilities deserved more appreciation than they were accorded and that very often apparent slowness in action was a policy of deliberate delay in face of difficulties unknown to the public, and which could not be stated in time of war; that patient acceptance of specific conditions in place of prompt public effort to remedy them was due to a knowledge of complications which made action at the moment unwise. Such a policy is not usually popular; the public prefers showy action and eloquent periods of speech.

These things it did not get from Sir Robert Borden. His characteristics as a public man always had been sanity of word and judgment rather than spectacular phrases or decision. These qualities, coupled with a quiet, observant study of the political situation, and recurrent evidences of capacity as a clear and convincing debater in the best Parliamentary form had in five years raised him from the position of a new and private member of Parliament to that of Leader of the Conservative party. In ten more years of public service they had brought him the respect of men of all parties in Canada when the fateful opportunity made him Premier of the Dominion. The same qualities were well calculated to ensure wise leadership at a great crisis; even if this slowness of action and an invariable courtesy of manner were sometimes mistaken for weakness — an error, however, which the Opposition had not fallen into during the stormy Parliamentary debates on Reciprocity and Dreadnoughts.

This question of the Prime Minister's leadership, or capacity for leadership, was constantly raised during these war years — most frequently in Opposition circles, fre-

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

German Regimental Commanders Captured by the Canadians

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadian Railway Troops Using Ruins of Houses to Build Tracks. Filling Their Trucks to Run on Lines Recently Laid

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

The Old Indian Form of Carrying Heavy Loads (Known as the Tump-Line) Used by the Canadians on the Western Front

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadian Machine Gunners Driving Away at the Enemy

quently also within his own party. The only way in which it can be analyzed, outside of the partisan opinion which carries no weight, is by reviewing in broad outline and with clear perspective the actual results of his Administration. Such a study must be based upon the admitted premise that Canada has not at any time been an easy country to govern, that it is not a racial or religious unit, that its population is scattered over great spaces, and that its peoples have been strongly affected in their view-point of many matters by proximity to the United States. All leaders and Governments find it difficult to hold office during war-time. In Britain, Palmerston during the Crimean War, Salisbury during the South African struggle, Asquith in the later and greater conflict, found the seat of power a throne of trouble — personal and political, as well as international. During 1914–16 every section of the British people had its turn at denouncing Mr. Asquith, and only a really strong man could have steered the ship of state through the shoals and rocks of those years. Later on Mr. Lloyd George realized this fact up to the hilt and by 1918 every Prime Minister or popular ruler of a combatant State at the beginning of the War had passed from power — except Sir Robert Borden and General Botha.

Sir Robert had to deal with a people absolutely unaccustomed to war, suspicious in many cases of Imperial interaction, resentful of military discipline, opposed, before the War, to real military preparedness. He had to conciliate these elements, to hold an even keel between extreme Imperialism and extreme Nationalism, to keep French and English, East and West, in some form of co-operation, to hold in check the selfish and evil aims of the grafter and grasping corporation. He also had to consider how far Canada should and would go in the new situation which followed the despatch of the first Contingent; how deep was the feeling so splendidly shown in that initial response; how much support the Government could rely upon and

how far that support might go! Canadians are not an easy or restful people to guide and it is practically certain that had the Premier announced on September 1, after the first rush to the colours was over, that a total of 500,000 men were required or would be sent, there would have been strong opposition, keen antagonism would have been raised, many things might have been said or written which would have hampered future recruiting, hostile interests would have been stirred to activity, racial difficulties, perhaps, accentuated.

In the policy decided upon the line of least resistance was followed, more and still more men were asked for and obtained by gradual call and steady persuasion. The Government, in short, obtained about 400,000 volunteers in two years and a half and eventually its full call of 500,000 men from a people who had considered the 7,000 men sent to South Africa fifteen years before as a great performance; it built up a tremendous munitions industry as truly out of straw as were the Biblical bricks of old; it preserved and bettered the national financial conditions and held the divergent races of the country along lines of united, if somewhat uneven, action. It evolved finally into a Government representing all Parties and holding the expressed confidence of the people in a General Election. These were not the achievements of weak men or a weak leader, and whatever the years might unfold or parties charge or prove to the detriment of Sir Robert Borden, these results stood out clearly upon the canvas of record.

Would Sir Wilfrid Laurier have done better or done differently? It is as hard to answer such a question as to say whether the energetic enthusiasm of Lloyd George, the profound thought of Arthur Balfour, the impulsive energy of Winston Churchill, the solid attainments of Edward Carson or John Redmond, would have been better for Britain in the early years of the War than Mr. Asquith's cool, conciliating hand at the helm. The Liberal leader in

Canada, perhaps, would have had an easier time, and could have held certain troublesome elements in Quebec more smoothly along the path to action; his eloquent touch upon the progress of events, if allowed full play, would have aroused the individual enthusiasm which only a few are capable of creating; his patriotic willingness to aid in the War and to carry on for Canada beside the Motherland of the Dominion were undoubted. Differences there would have been in both administration and record, but they are purely speculative. Certainly no Minister of Finance could have done better than Mr. White; no Minister of Militia, with all his faults, could have got 32,000 men into training and on the way to Britain in 1914 more rapidly than did Colonel Hughes. The mistakes made by him and by other Ministers probably would not have been made; it is equally probable that, human nature being what it is, others would have developed. If, in Britain, the Liberals were responsible for the munition failure, the Coalition was equally responsible for the gallant Gallipoli adventure, both great parties there, to their lasting credit, united on the question of Conscription, as they eventually did in Canada.

With the Canadian Premier in an unostentatious, quiet but very real leadership in Cabinet and country was the Minister of Finance. Mr. White already had proven himself a most capable financier in National affairs as he earlier had done in the business circles of Toronto; on the outbreak of war he assumed responsibilities of an Imperial character with results of obvious influence in the British conduct of a world war. A good and effective speaker, though not an orator, a financial man rather than a politician, a Minister with only three years' experience of public and Parliamentary life, Mr. White won for himself in the first months of the conflict a great reputation for quick, decisive action, following upon a cool, collective view of the whole situation. He kept his hand firmly and steadily on the lever of big events and dealt with them on a large scale,

yet he did not overlook details; he was never rushed or stampeded, nor was he unduly slow or deliberate; he looked ahead and around and then acted in time to avert trouble and to save unnecessary discussion. To do a thing was better than to talk about it.

Sir Thomas White — he was knighted early in this period and well deserved the honour — had a heavy task in hand. At the beginning he had to act quickly and, indeed, speed was the essence of safety in the first days of the War; afterwards an infinite variety of complicated problems had to be dealt with. As in Britain there was no longer a question of Free Trade or Protection and to that extent matters were simplified; it was a question of (1) maintaining public credit and (2) obtaining money to carry on public business in conditions of unique disturbance. It was a situation where for months the stock exchanges of the world were out of business, where the chief lending money market of the world had to limit its activities to its own people or to war purposes, where ordinary trade with several great nations was cut off entirely and other trade restricted by the unknown risks of war, where $200,000,000 a year of incoming capital to Canada was suddenly stopped with a succeeding decrease in the imports from which revenue came in normal times.

The Minister's policy after the first week of storm and stress was rendered easier by certain considerations: (1) The continued maintenance of British national credit; (2) the effective protection of trade and trade routes by the British Navy, and (3) the policy of Canadian banks during the two years of depressed conditions preceding this period. So far as the banks could control the situation during 1913 and 1914, and their power was very great, every financial sail in Canada had already been furled, every financial ship made storm-safe, every considerable interest guarded. But the issues of those fateful days from July 23 to August 4 were so vast that no financial system

in the world would have been safe if Britain had allowed the momentary panic to become a collapse, or had permitted its thousands of millions in foreign acceptances to be dishonoured at London, or had let its banks be the playthings, even for a day, of mob excitement and popular fear. So far as European nations, outside of Great Britain, were concerned Canadian interests in trade or investment were comparatively small; all her basic interests lay in and with England. Within Canada were $2,800,000,000 of British monetary investments; to Great Britain every year went $200,000,000 of Canadian products and from that country came not only payment for these products but $200,000,000 a year of fresh capital for the development of Canada; back of the Canadian Government's credit and resources and trade and territory was the *prestige* of British power — in its final analysis the strength of British Naval guns and tonnage which safe-guarded $1,000,000,000 worth of natural products raised each year in Canada and $1,500,000,000 of manufactures annually produced.

In such a situation and with such preliminary conditions of safety assured Mr. White had to build up a practically new structure of national finance. It must be remembered that at first every probability pointed to lessened imports and therefore lower tariff returns; to lessened industrial production, and financial vitality in general, and therefore reduced ability to bear taxation; to heavy Government expenditures and already decreasing revenues still further reduced. That the Minister of Finance was able to quickly restore public confidence in August, 1914, to maintain public credit unimpaired and in a few months to immensely extend its scope and application in the United States, to obtain a complete working scheme of co-operation with the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, to borrow at good rates at home or abroad all the money required to carry on the government of the country and bear an ever-increasing strain of war expenses, these were clear evidences of capa-

city and tributes to the personality of the Minister who, in Canada, bore his share of the financial fabric of Empire and war.

Lieut.-General Sir Sam Hughes — as he became during the progress of the War — bore a unique personality and became the object of more mingled censure and praise than any other public man in Canada. Probably, his namesake in Australia ran him close in this latter respect. During the first years of the struggle the Canadian Minister of Militia was unceasingly busy with an alert, intense activity wholly characteristic of the man; he expressed opinions, hopes, censure or approval, in an open style devoid of fear or favour so far as the public was concerned; he was optimistic and frank in his speeches upon the War to a degree which shocked military sentiment and interested everyone; he said things which many censured and did things which many praised; he sent democratic troops to aid the great cause of liberty and used a degree of personal autocracy in so doing which was as unpopular at times as it was effective. Above all he embodied, in days of War, opinions and a policy which he had, in season and out, urged upon the country in days of Peace. In his work he made mistakes but he got the men, he equipped them, he sent them to England.

Like Sir W. D. Otter and others General Hughes had been vigorously, and for long before he entered the Government, urging a better and greater Militia force; at the same time, unlike General Otter and most of his supporters, he had fiercely criticized the British Army and, in Canada, the Permanent Corps; he was not an admirer of the War Office and was a keen supporter of the Ross rifle — made in Canada — which the War Office was not supposed to approve of for either Bisley contests or war purposes, and which finally had to be discarded altogether. Whether as a politician or soldier, Militia advocate or Militia Minister, he had frequently been denounced by political opponents as

a militarist and jingo. His encouragement of the Cadet movement since becoming a Minister, his construction of drill-halls in many centres, his avowed desire to increase and improve the Militia even if it cost more and more money, had been unpopular with a not inconsiderable school of Canadian thought and with many members of Parliament.

Assuming that the country desired to do its part in the War, as was the case; that the men of the nation were willing, in fair proportion, to take up their obligations and the women to accept their share of the burden; the efficiency, the value, the rapidity of the aid given to country and Empire depended upon the administration of this Department. The Premier controlled the general policy of the Government, the Minister of Finance directed the vital matter of money, but upon General Hughes rested the responsibility, for good or ill, of the organization of that policy. Hence the importance of his personality and the effect of his action upon the standing and influence of the Government and the reputation of Canada abroad. Before he had retired from office his Department, in a financial connection, controlled expenditures of $175,000,000 a year, directed the raising, equipment and transportation of 150,000 men to England, 100,000 men to France, and 100,000 men in Canada, influenced in various ways the making of $400,000,000 worth of munitions, guided larger affairs than faced the British Government in the days of the Crimean War.

That a Minister of impetuous, autocratic personality, under such conditions, would make bitter enemies, create complications for his Government, arouse resentments even in his own party and stir up vigorous controversies throughout Canada, goes without saying. Public opinion in these years was in a constantly fluid state regarding General Hughes. He would say something one day which touched some cherished conviction or tradition and which

the majority of people resented; he would make a casual remark the next day which every one praised as proving his absolute indifference to red tape and an honest independence of conviction and action. He would do something one day which would deeply offend an important local interest or organization, and the next would balance it with a bit of practical work which would please the country as a whole. He liked doing big things and drove his Department like a motor at full speed — with such a motor's inevitable accidents and stoppages. The Liberal Opposition in the country naturally devoted much time and space to the Minister of Militia, though he was on more than one occasion eulogized by such important Liberal journals as the Ottawa *Free Press* and Toronto *Star,* while at the same time criticized by Conservative organs such as the Montreal *Star* or Ottawa *Journal.*

Whether it was blame or praise, however, Sir Sam Hughes took it all with indifference and even seemed to enjoy it; he fought charges of corruption in the press and Parliament as he had fought the Boers in South Africa, and would have liked to fight the Germans in France, without fear or favour; he came out of certain definite Opposition charges with the declaration of the Duff-Meredith Commission that there was nothing in the voluminous evidence before them in 1916 to prove dishonesty or corruption against the Minister. But he had the faults of his qualities and there were many who claimed in these years that those faults had rendered the Government hopelessly unpopular and would eventually wreck it at the polls. Governments, however, took a lot of wrecking at this time, as those of Asquith in Britain, Hughes in Australia, Botha in South Africa had proved.

By the autumn of 1916, as a matter of gradual evolution, he had been relieved of some of his enormous burden of work. Munitions were by that time entirely under control of an Imperial Board; equipment and supplies for troops

were regulated in contract and price by the War Purchasing Commission with Hon. A. E. Kemp as Chairman; Canadian hospitals and returned soldiers were placed in charge of the Military Hospitals Commission with Sir J. A. Lougheed presiding; the care and direction of the Canadian forces, hospitals, etc., in England, the despatch of Canadian troops to the Front, with questions of equipment, re-enforcement and special supplies there, were placed in charge of Sir G. H. Perley. General Hughes remained for a short time at the head of his Department, with home administration, recruiting and control of the forces in Canada as his personal sphere of operations. But it was only for a short time and he was compelled to retire in November with vigorous protests against any curtailment of responsibility, against subordination to Cabinet control, against any checks upon his own tumultuous personality.

During these years the Minister's faults were known to all men, criticism had been abundant and often bitter, his own words at times were unwise and of the wild and whirling kind. Such incidents as his cable to General Botha about "My Army," his advice to Lord Kitchener about the Ypres salient and criticism of the policy involved, his denunciation of British medical work and officers, his declaration that Canadian supplies and equipment had been improperly rejected in England, were not calculated to aid recruiting, or help the Government, or promote Imperial sentiment. The fact is that General Hughes was an Imperialist in theory and a Canadian Nationalist in practice; he wanted Canada to do its duty to the Empire but it must do it altogether in the Canadian way, or his way, without interference, or advice, or control, or even at times co-operation. But, despite all such facts or criticism, he had, in these twenty-eight months of war, blazed a pathway to efficient success in matters of recruiting, munition-making, transport and training of troops; he had overcome a public inertia in certain points which required an

almost dynamic energy to move; he had driven the fear of the Minister, if not the fear of God, into a Militia system which at best lacked cohesion and discipline; he had, in short, made a splendid army out of strong yet chaotic and untrained material.

These three members of the Government were the most conspicuous ones and they bore the greatest burdens of responsibility and had more of the consequent pains and pleasures of publicity. Less imposing or spectacular but important in both fact and detail was the work of other Ministers. Sir George E. Foster was the one member of the Borden Government who had the memories and experience of being in previous Dominion Cabinets; his force as an orator was known in every part of Canada and throughout the Empire; his personality may not have attracted people to him in the sense of that much-abused word magnetism, but it compelled their respect. His administration of the Trade and Commerce Department was marked by effective work; it had not been his fault if Canadian manufacturers were so busy at home that they did not try to develop outside trade on the large scale which he urged; the depression which came just before the War promised to correct this difficulty but war conditions, by an unexpected turn in the situation, developed increased demands upon the great majority of industrial plants. During these years Sir George was foremost in urging recruiting, trade expansion, industrial activity and enterprise. His old-time Imperialism found fertile fields for operation and expression; his revivified eloquence rang true to a great occasion. In many a speech he denounced the would-be German dominance of Europe and then of the world, referred to the hatred felt against Great Britain as the one Power which had, by naval supremacy, prevented this result, dealt with the lessons of Empire organization and importance of naval power which the War brought home.

Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works, was a constant target for Opposition attacks and returned them with characteristic force. He was conspicuous at the close of 1914, and later in 1915, for the advocacy of a general "War" election on the ground, chiefly, of Liberal control of the Senate and veto upon Government legislation; for a fighting political attitude which provided fuel to a constant fire of Liberal attack. His Department, however, was unusually free of party charges, or specific attack, and he himself appeared to go on with public business and War policy in quiet self-confidence. Speaking at Montreal on May 3, 1915, he declared that the Government had been prevented from appealing to the people by the outbreak of war in August, 1914; reviewed recent Liberal opposition to the Government's financial policy and, through the Senate, rejection of Government measures and policy, and urged an election to clear the air and strengthen the hands of the Administration. This much-discussed speech was strongly denounced by the Liberals everywhere and marked the end of a system of co-operation between the Government and Opposition which had been getting looser and less effective since the beginning of the year; which, during the balance of 1915, became an attitude of bare toleration on the part of the Opposition even when assenting to a year's prolongation of the life of Parliament; which was during 1916 one of frequently expressed desire for an election and continuous criticism of the Government; which only found renewed expression and vital force in the Union Government of 1917.

Mr. Rogers himself came under fire of one of the many Manitoba Commissions of Inquiry in 1916 in its probe of conditions when he had been Provincial Minister of Public Works. In giving evidence before anything was actually proven against himself, he characteristically turned the tables by denouncing Judge Galt, the Provincial Commissioner, and others in judicial positions, with practising a form of corruption by accepting fees from partisan Gov-

ernments for non-judicial work. Whether he was right or wrong did not matter; the public thought and discussion were turned away from an issue which the Liberal organization in Manitoba would have liked to cultivate. Eventually his retirement from office in 1917 removed a chief obstacle to Sir Robert Borden's Coalition policy.

A very different type of politician was J. Douglas Hazen, Minister of Marine and Fisheries and Naval Affairs. A one-time Provincial Premier of New Brunswick he had been successful there in a quiet, non-aggressive way and had held his new post since 1911 with little criticism, few political and no personal enmities. He had an important work to do but it was not of a nature which brought great publicity. Much that was done by the Department during war-time could not be made public at all; one of its most important duties was the guardianship of the coasts and harbours and ports. Usually this work was limited to the Fisheries protection service with its continuous patrol of coast waters by a dozen or more vessels, but the War had seriously enlarged these operations. At first there was actual danger from stray German cruisers on both Canadian coasts; then and afterwards there was a possibility of German mines being strewn in Canadian harbours; in 1918 German submarines actually made their appearance in Canadian waters. Early in 1915 notices to mariners were issued that mine-sweeping operations might at any time be under way off Canadian ports, that Government vessels with distinctive flags or lights were patrolling off the ports of Halifax, Quebec and Esquimalt, that they had power to control the entry of all vessels by day or night. When Canadian mines were laid at any points Mr. Hazen, of course, had them in charge but no information could be made public. The war expenditure of the Department ran to over $5,000,000 a year and the Minister had charge of the Royal Naval Reserves, the Naval College at Halifax, and general conditions of Pacific and Atlantic coast defence apart from the operations of the Royal Navy.

Martin Burrell, Minister of Agriculture, commenced in 1914 and carried on in 1915–16 a vigorous campaign with the popular slogan of "Patriotism and Production". A speech at Toronto (February 4, 1915) illustrated the nature of his appeal: "It is our duty, not less than Britain's, to see that not a sailor in the fleet or a man in the trenches shall lack a single one of the things which he so sorely needs. On the lower grounds I urge that it will pay the producers of this country to extend their work, but on the higher I make the stronger appeal." An Englishman by birth but for fifteen years a fruit-grower in British Columbia, Mr. Burrell knew agricultural conditions well and his efforts were a factor in the tremendous crop of 1915 — one which helped the whole financial situation in Canada and gave the country a basis of prosperity more permanent than the ephemeral but spectacular production of munitions.

Other members of the Government at the outbreak of war were the Hon. C. J. Doherty, Minister of Justice, who possessed a certain natural shrewdness and capacity, a clear, legal mind, an incisive faculty of speech; the Hon. Frank Cochrane, Minister of Railways, a man of infinite silence so far as speech-making was concerned, a good administrator, and bearing an excellent party reputation for organizing skill; the Hon. W. J. Roche, Minister of the Interior, who was generally respected despite the holding of a Portfolio noted for its difficulties in administration and for a long series of political charges against preceding Ministers of both parties; the Hon. T. W. Crothers, Minister of Labour, who said little, attended to his duties quietly and made few public appearances — occasionally, however, running into the snags which organized labour knew so well how to put in the paths of public men; the Hon. J. D. Reid, who had done good work for his party in political organization, and was now administering the prac-

tically non-partisan duties of Minister of Customs which he did with a minimum of criticism and publicity.

The Hon. A. E. Kemp and Hon. J. A. Lougheed were Ministers without Portfolio — the former a very successful manufacturer and the latter a Western barrister of high standing — who were destined to have important duties in the succeeding years of war. The Hon. Arthur Meighen, Solicitor-General, was a rising man in his own party and in Parliament, a speaker of rare excellence who did much service in making the public familiar with the real issues of the War. Sir G. H. Perley, Minister without Portfolio, Acting High Commissioner in London, eventually Overseas Minister of Militia, was one of the most effective, hard-working members of the Government. A business man, essentially, a Canadian in every special sense of the word, a long-time and intimate friend of the Prime Minister, a man whose advice was greatly sought and valued by his associates, a respected public man rather than a politician, his part in the war-work of the time was an important one.

As to the important place in the Cabinet and in public discussion held by its French Canadian Ministers much might be said. A most important part of Government work and influence during this period turned upon their position and opinions. They represented in a special way the interests and action of nearly 2,000,000 of the population and, when War commenced, the Hon. L. P. Pelletier was Postmaster-General, Hon. W. B. Nantel, Minister of Inland Revenue, and Hon. Louis Coderre, Secretary of State. In October, 1914, the Hon. T. Chase Casgrain took Mr. Pelletier's place and Hon. P. E. Blondin that of Mr. Nantel; in October, a year later, E. L. Patenaude became Minister of Inland Revenue and Mr. Blondin took over the post of Secretary of State. Mr. Chase Casgrain was of the old Conservative school of thought in Quebec, British in thought and policy, disliking sensational methods and preferring to work with the Church of his people rather than

against it, or without it; Messrs. Blondin and Patenaude were of a new and more democratic school and had been labelled Nationalists by their political opponents; all were united in supporting the Government policy and general view of the War, its obligations and its duties.

All of these Ministers, except Mr. Chase Casgrain and Mr. Pelletier, were on record as originally opposing the Naval policy of the late Laurier Government and any enlargement of Canada's responsibilities within the Empire. New conditions had brought new convictions, however, the Naval situation of 1909 had some weight in this change, the Reciprocity campaign and change of Government in 1911 had still more influence and, in 1913, all these Quebec leaders supported the Borden policy of Dreadnought contribution to Great Britain. As speakers Messrs. Casgrain and Blondin were conspicuous during the war-years and no one, unless it was Mr. Lemieux, the Liberal leader in Quebec under Sir W. Laurier, could speak more patriotically than Mr. Blondin. As he put it at Nicolet (December 17, 1915): "For the French Canadians the victory of the Allies will be a worse danger than their defeat, unless French Canadians lend their fullest aid to the cause. Far better will death be than to leave such a legacy of shame to our children. On the success of the Allies depends our own fate. Conquered, the Allies must leave our commerce, our institutions and our liberty defenceless in the hands of Germany — the land of militarism, autocracy and barbarity."

Such, in brief outline, were the Ministers who controlled the destinies and work of Canada in the first years of war. They faced severe and sometimes justified criticism; they did not always do the right thing at the right moment and sometimes did the wrong one; they did not keep all corruption and favouritism out of public affairs; they, at times, and in a certain individual case, were arbitrary in word and will and in other cases slow in action when speed

appeared essential. But, upon the whole, and history judges in a wide perspective — over the whole race-course, as it were — the results were good in the first three years of war. The Prime Minister did not palter with any proven corruption or hesitate to compel the retirement of guilty followers into private life; the Minister of Militia came out of the Munition charges with nothing worse proven than a lack of wisdom in the choice of friends and a failure to always see ahead; the Government obtained, by the close of 1916, four-fifths of the men asked for at the first of the year; they had kept the country upon a fairly even keel in prosperity, in patriotic work, in party and Provincial and National co-operation.

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Imperial Troops Passing General Mewburn, the Canadian Minister of Militia. Resting on the Roadside Are Canadian Troops

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

The Style of Raincoat Adapted by Canadian Soldiers for Trench Wear

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadian Pioneers Felling Shell-Shattered Trees

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

An Ammunition Dump Back of the Canadian Army

CHAPTER V

ON THE WAY TO WAR—RAISING AN ARMY

To raise a large voluntary force — a great army by precedents of the past — in a pacific community such as Canada possessed, amongst a people unfamiliar with the thought and fact of war, in a country reasonably safe, for the time at least, behind the ramparts of British naval power, was a great undertaking and an important fact in history. As compared with Great Britain's marvellous performance of ensuing years, the result showed only 1 in 14 of the population compared with 1 in 9; but there were many considerations which made it easier to impress the vital import of the issue upon the people of the United Kingdom than upon the distant and racially-divided peoples of Canada. Zeppelins and submarines and the roar of the great guns in France are enough to mention here.

It is true that in 1812 many Canadians had fought for the tentative British Empire of that period; that in 1854 the Legislature of Upper and Lower Canada voted £20,000 to aid "the widows and orphans of the allied armies of England and France" in the Crimea; that in 1858 the 100th Royal Canadian Regiment was raised for service in India, though it did not reach that particular destination; that in 1877 Colonel J. W. Laurie offered to raise a regiment from Nova Scotia if England was involved in the Russo-Turkish War; that a similar offer in 1884 for service in the Soudan was made by Col. A. T. H. Williams of Port Hope and other officers; that a contingent of voyageurs and volunteers eventually did go under command of Col. F. C. Denison; that in the South African War about 7,300 Canadian troops, in all, served. Since then, also, the Royal Military College, Kingston, had turned out hundreds of young

officers who received British commissions and served all over the world. As a whole, however, Canada had known little of the realities of war, thought much of the ideals of peace, accepted much in the way of British protection, did not worry over questions of defence, and failed to take political issues of that nature very seriously.

Hence the vital nature of the proof given, at this juncture, of the British and Imperial sentiment of the people; hence the value of the emphatic, strenuous, personality of Colonel Sam Hughes in the Ministry of Militia; hence also the benefit of the financial work of a capable Minister of Finance, and the large voluntary contributions of the people as a whole. The action of the Government was prompt in ordering on August 6, 1914, the mobilization of an Army Division of 21,000 men; the response of enlistment was immediate — especially from Ontario and the West; the result was the gathering of 33,000 troops at Valcartier, near Quebec, within a few weeks, for purposes of training. No popular effort was required in this connection, and 50,000 or 100,000 men could probably have been obtained with ease at that time of national enthusiasm. Following this First Contingent, its training at Valcartier and transportation to England in November, came the organization of a Second Contingent of 22,000 men. At the same time there were forwarded from Canada 70 field guns and a number of machine guns, with the troops, while the great Artillery needs of the Motherland were recognized by the transfer of (1) 47 eighteen-pounders of the most modern type, which had been ordered by the Canadian Government in Great Britain before the outbreak of the War; (2) 51 guns of the same type, which the Department of Militia had on hand; (3) a number of machine guns previously ordered by the Canadian Government in England.

The raising and equipment of the two Contingents was the great war-work of 1914 in Canada, while the organization work of this force included the training and drilling

of the men, arrangements for supplies and the purchase of 8,000 horses from all parts of Canada; the purchase and shipment of bread, meat and vegetables, of hay and of oats; the planning of intricate transportation details over half a continent and across the Atlantic with the use of 100 special trains and 32 steamships for the First Contingent alone; the clothing, arming and equipment of the men, the supply of technical and other stores, the purchase and shipment of vehicles, harness and saddlery; the supply of large and small guns, with shells, ammunition, etc., for the Contingents and continuous inspection by the Ordnance Department of immense quantities ordered in addition by the War Office. The total value of guns, cartridges, ammunition-waggons, pistols, revolvers, rifles, motor-cars and trucks, ambulances, shrapnel shells, bayonets and machine guns received and sent with the First Contingent and forwarded to the Woolwich Arsenal for British use or supplied to the *Rainbow* and the *Niobe,* etc., was, approximately, $13,673,807. From this figure can be adduced some idea of the business involved in sending over the whole army of 400,000 men.

Valcartier Camp, meantime, was an illustration of rapid, effective, almost spectacular, creation under direction of Capt. Wm. Price and Lieut.-Colonels H. E. Burstall and W. McBain, with the abounding energy of the Minister of Militia as an incentive and support. The land was first acquired and several buildings raised, a rifle range erected to the extent of three miles or more of rifle-butts, grounds cleared and levelled and prepared, roads constructed and pavements built, lighting, heating and water facilities provided, tents, horses, waggons, guns and military equipment transported and properly placed or organized, arrangements made for feeding thousands of men. The Camp was a most excellent one, the site ideal in its beauty, good in its general topography, very good in its healthy character. Colonel Hughes was proud of his creation of

this Camp in the course of a month, and it did stand greatly to his credit.

During 1915 recruiting remained easy in some respects, but grew more difficult in others. There was an immense amount of discussion in the country as to the obligation of the unmarried man, the duties of the citizen, the system adopted by the Government, the methods of Leagues and recruiting officers, the action in aid of the work, or against it, by large institutions, the attitude of races and Provinces. Canada was not a military country and its people had been lapped in peace with rare, slight, and not dangerous exceptions, for a hundred years; its favourite platform peroration was the patriotism of the peace-maker; its Militia had always existed with difficulty and laboured under the disadvantage of political criticism and, until Sir F. W. Borden came into office in 1896, of Parliamentary cheese-paring; its popular tendency had been to regard war as no longer necessary or possible, as a relic of barbarism, and preparation to meet it as militarism, Jingoism and a flying in the face of Providence, religion and national morality. Such a training was not calculated to make the average young man willing at a moment's notice to sacrifice comfort, career, pleasure and, perhaps, life, in order to fight thousands of miles away for a cause which the British Navy prevented from directly touching his own country. The statistical situation as to the War was, according to the Census of 1911, as follows:

Particulars	Males, 20 to 44, inclusive	Single	Married	Widowed, Divorced, and Unknown
Canadian-born.....	973,621	446,927	508,213	18,481
United Kingdom-born...	285,308	147,858	132,019	5,431
Foreign-born.....	278,652	139,549	133,182	5,921
Total.....	1,537,581	734,334	773,414	29,833

Eliminating the unfit, allowing for an increase of 5 or 10 per cent. in the five years, and for a difference in the fact that the military age was 18 to 45, there were about 1,600,000 men available for service at the beginning of this

year. Of these 33,000 had gone forward with the First Contingent, and during the year others came forward to a total of 180,000 additional, or over 3,400 a week. There was much strenuous exertion in the obtaining of this result, and appeals were made to every instinct of manhood and patriotism. It was pointed out that the fate of the Empire was at stake, together with the British institutions of which so much had been said in past years; that men were needed not only to destroy a Militarism gone mad, but to prevent the necessity for future extreme expenditures on defence; that if Germany won the War the rule of the new over-lord would be hard to endure and the liberties now exercised by British citizens would be gone; that the Sermon on the Mount would be replaced by "the will to Power" and religious ideals by military materialism; that Democracy would have proved a failure, loyalty to the Empire a sham, love for Canada a delusion; that if the British Empire went down the Canadian financial fabric, Canadian trade, Canadian prosperity, would go with it, while immigration coming into the country would be Teuton in character, capital invested would be for the benefit of the Germans, the Canadian West would be a feeding ground for the German Empire and a stamping ground for the German farmer and settler.

It was difficult, however, to overcome the inertia of years; to understand that the War was what the speakers called "our war;" to appreciate the fact that in the millions of troops at the Front, or going there, every man still counted and that many units made an army; to realize that Canada was no longer an insignificant, dependent, unknown colony, but a British nation with a nation's responsibilities and wealth and with great resources which were fit prey for foreign cupidity if Britain's power should ever be broken. This last point touched the greatest difficulty or at least the most frequently avowed excuse given by the eligible young men: "If it were a question of home

defence I would be first to enlist." This sort of man would not accept the call of his country, the opinion of his statesmen, the appeal of his Sovereign, the common knowledge of what his Empire was doing and the sacrifices his Motherland had made. If it was merely an excuse it proved what probably was the real trouble in many quarters — a species of combined selfishness and indifference. Whether this was chiefly born of isolation from the heart of the Empire, of prolonged Pacifist teaching, of a cosmopolitanism growing out of proximity to the United States, or of simple love of comfort and ease, it is hard to say.

There was a good deal of abuse during this season, of wild words, flung at the "shirker" and "slacker" and coward. Much of it was unwise and, like most generalizations, in either argument or epithet, untrue. Probably it was one of those minor elements which hurt recruiting. Another was unquestionably the attitude of some women. If it was hard for men to get away from peace doctrines and long-based convictions, it was almost impossible for many women to do so. Canada was not directly affected, why should they send their husbands or sons or lovers to fight for civilization or democracy or for a distant Empire? There were no bombs or Zeppelins or cannon here, and, apparently, no likelihood of their coming. Another obstacle was the absence of local sentiment in the names of the battalions. A number meant nothing now or in the future; to belong to a well-known, perhaps, some day, world-famous Regiment with name and location would have meant much. In the early part of the year many men were declined for want of machinery and equipment to handle them; afterwards all fit men were taken, but, no doubt, a certain number never returned to the recruiter. Early in the year, too, rural battalions were hard to fill up; the farmers in many cases had no sons available, or in other cases were too much concerned about their personal interests. There was much truth in the call of the Toronto

Globe (January 23, 1915) for a campaign of education and in its statement that "the country requires information as to the causes of the war, the issues involved and the pressing need for men." More important, perhaps, than these minor factors was the platform and newspaper call to battle for "Civilization." The average young man could at least have understood a call for Canada, for Britain, for the Empire; it is a question how far in this commercial age a plea for civilization and for a place in the World War, as such, really reached the heart of Canadians. Yet with all said and done the response of the country was a splendid one; the efforts of men and officers worthy of the highest eulogy and the lasting appreciation of their country and Empire; the bravery of those who volunteered greater than that in any similar period of history, because they knew the full horrors of the war as well as the necessity of serving their nation.

At the close of the year 212,000 men were under arms and 500,000 were called for. Upon the whole and under all the conditions this was a splendid record and a remarkable result of two chief factors — the energy of the Minister of Militia and the real, underlying patriotism of the people. Much was said during this period as to the part played by the native Canadian as distinct from that of the Canadian born in the United Kingdom. Statistics compiled by the writer in 1915 from official lists, including 54,673 members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and representing, primarily, the first two Contingents, together with Artillery, Machine-gun sections, Hospitals, Divisional Supply Columns, Signal companies, Remount depôts, Cyclist corps, Ammunition columns, Army Medical Corps and Engineers, showed 42,195 born in England, Ireland and Scotland and 12,418 born in Canada. The love of one's home-country, the love of adventure innate in the Islanders and proven by the very fact of previous migration, the more intimate realization of the war by men born in a land directly

threatened by German power, a closer personal touch with devastated Europe, all aroused the British settlers in Canada to a quick and active sense of duty. However that may be, at the close of the year the Prime Minister called for 500,000 men to complete Canada's contribution, and a little later (February 15, 1916) the enlistment figures stood as follows:*

Native-born Canadians	73,935	30 per cent.
British-born in United Kingdom	156,637	62 per cent.
Others	18,899	8 per cent.
Total	249,471	100 per cent.

As to Provinces, it was announced from Ottawa on November 2, 1915, that, approximately, Ontario had recruited 42,300 men, Quebec 14,000, the Maritime Provinces 15,000, Manitoba and Saskatchewan 28,000, British Columbia and the Yukon 17,000, and Alberta about 14,200. At the end of this month recruiting was at the rate of 1,000 a day, and at the close of the year 2,000 a day. The year 1916 began with a record for recruiting which coloured public thought and influenced Government action throughout the year. Certainly, the response to the appeal of patriotism in its first three months, the immediate reply to Sir Robert Borden's call for 500,000 men, was splendid. During January 29,212 men enlisted in all Canada; in February 26,658 enlisted; during March 32,705 joined the ranks — a total of 88,575, or over 1,000 a day if Sundays were excluded. About this time (March 20–April 28) the United States, with its 100,000,000 population, was recruiting at high pressure for possible Mexican service, under the Hay Emergency Act of the late Congress, and obtained 5,417 soldiers, or 150 a day. The rejections were 18,442. By 1 June 334,736 men had been obtained in Canada out of the 500,000 asked for by the Government — a task which involved the recruiting of 30 per cent. of all males of military age in the Dominion, or about 7 per cent. of the total population, with 10 per cent. as the technical estimate of

* Brig.-Gen. James Mason, Senate, March 14, 1916.

what could be economically taken from any population for war purposes.

In the first part of the year recruiting was splendid, as the above figures indicate; then in the summer months the decline in enlistment became gradually more and more obvious; the difficulties grew greater and the struggles of the recruiting officers were pathetic; the instances of non-patriotic feeling or of indifference grew more frequent; the situation in Quebec became disheartening. During the seven months of June–December the total of straight recruiting under the Militia Department was 58,000 over the figures of June 1 and at the rate of a little more than 300 per day. The totals during nine months were as follows: April, 23,289; May, 15,090; June, 10,795; July, 8,675; August, 7,267; September, 6,357; October, 6,033; November, 6,548; December, 5,791. To these figures, however, might properly be added many others,* such as 9,052 men of the Militia called out for purposes of Home service; the Permanent Force of 2,470 men and a Canadian Naval Service Force of 3,310; the 1,600 volunteers for the British Naval Service and 1,200 men provided for the Imperial Mechanical Transport Corps; 3,000 volunteers for expert munition work in Britain; 2,750 British reservists — a minimum and very low estimate — who had rejoined their colours, and 17,500 French, Russian and Italian reservists who had responded to their national calls. The total was 434,529 men from Canada on war service of some kind or other with a deduction of 70,263 for casualties — including 48,454 wounded, of whom, no doubt, about half were able to return to the front.

The reasons for this situation were very clear, and the chief factors as follows: (1) The reaching of a certain limit in regard to men recently from the United Kingdom and of men stirred strongly by patriotic impulse, or home training, or the spirit of adventure; (2) the fact of 7 per

* Speech by Sir Robert Borden in Commons, January 22, 1917.

cent. of the population in a country like Canada, where everyone worked and individual responsibilities were greater amongst the masses, being almost equal to 10 per cent. in a country such as England; (3) the existence of high wages and the demands of munition factories, which called for and eventually received 300,000 workers; (4) the hostile attitude in Quebec of Henri Bourassa and the Nationalists.

As to personal and Provincial details of the recruiting at this time there was considerable discussion. Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., in the Ontario Legislature on April 19 adduced figures up to March 1, and from a total enlistment of 263,111, which showed by occupations 16,153, or 6 per cent., of professional men; 6,530, or 2 per cent., of employers or merchants; 48,777, or 18 per cent., of clerical workers; 170,369, or 64 per cent., of manual workers; 17,044, or 6 per cent., of farmers and ranchers, and 4,238, or 1 per cent., of students. By Provinces, Ontario deprecated the attitude of Quebec and was proud of its own position; the West, also, claimed to have done much better than the East. Taking the total of 378,413 up to December 1, 1916, it may be stated that Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia recruited 147,090, or a surplus of 11,332 above their share of the 500,000 men required, while Quebec, Ontario and the Maritime Provinces had raised 231,323, or 125,682 short of their proportion of the 500,000 — the chief deficit being in Quebec. According to Military districts, the figures from January 1, 1916, up to November 1 were as follows: London, Toronto and Kingston, in Ontario, 152,995; Montreal and Quebec, in Quebec, 39,907; Maritime Provinces, 33,694; Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 108,419; British Columbia, 36,580. Naval recruiting showed 1,600 enlistments up to the close of 1916.

During 1917 these conditions were accentuated and the results were obvious. The picturesque personality of Sir Sam Hughes was replaced this year by the business-like

administration of Sir Edward Kemp. There was less driving force with fewer results in the Militia Department; there, also, was much less friction with fewer frills. The new Minister, however, had to meet a condition in which the voluntary system was reaching its limit, and, in order to postpone the inevitable but undesirable method of Conscription, he and the Government tried all possible plans for increasing the Army. They seemed to feel, and no doubt wisely, that the public must be thoroughly convinced of the failure of voluntaryism before compulsion could be made effective. Hence, no doubt, the National Service Board and its operations. Created by Order-in-Council on October 5, 1916, its primary object was to facilitate recruiting by a sort of voluntary co-ordinating of labour, in the various industries, with army requirements and to obtain a National registration of man-power. Aggressive action was ensured by the Chairmanship of R. B. Bennett, K.C., M.P.; work was hampered and the policy of the 13 Directors of National Service under him affected by the absence of exact legal authority. Strong efforts were made, and in September, 1917, the Board ceased to exist after a valedictory in the Commons from Mr. Bennett (September 20) in which he divided the returns, totalling 1,549,360 cards, into 286,976 military prospects in non-essential occupations and 183,727 in farming, with 4,660 skilled workers in mines and ships and munitions, or a total of 475,363; the Industrial classes reporting totalled 143,995, soldiers 48,496, and the "discards" 679,511, with incomplete or blank cards 206,605. He deprecated the vagueness of the Board's original scope and duties and its lack of statutory powers.

Even this partial analysis of man-power showed plenty of available men for recruiting purposes, and the year 1916 had seen 178,537 enlistments, making a total of direct enlistments since the War commenced of 383,955, or 434,000 if all the sources mentioned by Sir R. Borden were included. There had been a falling off in December, 1916, and this

continued and grew more marked during each succeeding month of 1917. As early as 4 January J. M. Godfrey, President of the Canadian National Service League, represented the opinion of practically all concerned in recruiting when he said in Toronto that: "Everyone engaged in active recruiting for any length of time becomes a conscriptionist. He soon sees that the voluntary system is ineffective, unfair, unequal, undemocratic, wasteful and not really British." By June 30, according to the Minister of Militia in the House on August 6, the figures of enlistment totalled 424,456. In succeeding months not only did recruiting decrease, but wastage from casualties and the discharge of men in England or in Canada for various causes increased. The enlistments and wastage of the year ran as follows by months: January — Enlistments, 9,194; wastage, 4,396; February — 6,809 and 21,955; March — 6,640 and 6,161; April — 5,330 and 10,894; May — 6,407 and 13,457; June, 6,348 and 7,931; July — 3,882 and 7,906; August — 3,117 and 13,232; September — 3,588 and 10,990; October — 4,884 and 5,929; November — 4,019 and 30,741; December — 3,921 and 7,476. The total casualties — killed and wounded, died of wounds, prisoners, or missing — to December 31, 1917, were 145,671, of whom 25,138 were killed in action, 102,726 wounded and 2,740 prisoners of war.

Meanwhile, co-operation had been effected with the British Recruiting Mission in the United States, headed by Brig.-Gen. W. A. White, C.M.G., and assisted by a Canadian as well as British staff. Recruits were accepted for the Canadian forces and forwarded for attestation to the nearest Canadian depôt, and a few thousands were in this way obtained. A vigorous effort developed in March to raise a force for Home defence which would be distinct from the Army on active service. As the young and eligible men would no longer volunteer in any large numbers, it was hoped to obtain their support for a service which would not divorce them from home-ties and occupations and yet

give them a certain amount of training and perhaps develop a military and patriotic spirit, which, in turn, would induce them to enlist for active service. Meanwhile, they would help to guard Canada against complications from Germans in the States which then were feared, and enable the 50,000 or so of troops in local training for the Front to go overseas. It was understood to be a last effort of Sir Edward Kemp as Minister to obtain voluntary enlistment, and on March 16 he announced the details of the scheme. The project proved a failure, however, and this was admitted by the Minister on June 25.

So much for Enlistment details during 1916–17. In considering these ups and downs and critical comments, however, a broad view is necessary to do the situation justice, and this the historic judgment of Canada must take. In 1793, when the War with Revolutionary France began, Great Britain had about twice the 1914 population of Canada and took six months to send 10,000 men abroad; in 1854, with 27,000,000 population, Britain sent to the Crimea in six months about 30,000 men, and not more than 90,000 altogether; in 1914 Canada sent 33,000 men in two months from a population of about 8,000,000, and in two years had despatched 240,000 men on active service, with 100,000 in training at home. She had called 30 per cent. of all the eligible men in the country, and, taking 435,000 as the total accepted, 25 per cent. had responded — with the rejections of over 100,000 the proportion would be greater. This was a splendid record and the inevitable difficulties indicated above no more reflect on the greatness of the result than occasional labour troubles and strikes and anti-war fanaticism in England could mar the great product of voluntaryism in that land of liberty. There were two conditions of this recruiting which stand out clearly on the pages of history—(1) the splendid response of the working-men with a total indicated by the figures to March 1, 1916, which, as quoted above, showed nearly two-thirds of the enlist-

ment, and (2) the response of the sons of well-known men, of families famous in Canadian history, or of men who had themselves achieved high place in Canadian annals.

The conditions which eventually made Conscription necessary in Canada, as in almost every country in the world, have already been hinted at and can hardly be dealt with at length here.* After two years of discussion, which increased in feeling and effect from month to month; after-war experiences, which changed a deep national and democratic antagonism to military compulsion into a popular belief as to its imperative necessity, after these and other events, the impossible became a fact, great difficulties were overcome and, in the middle of 1917, Conscription became the law of Canada. The Government had not, originally, been in favour of it, and Sir Robert Borden, in August, 1914, and in January, 1915, had stated that it was not the intention to propose compulsory military service. As late as December, 1916, he declared that the National Service cards would not be used to promote Conscription. As the Premier put it in a letter to the Mayor of Montreal on July 13, 1917: "These statements were absolutely and literally true when they were made. No one could then estimate or even imagine the magnitude of the efforts necessary to win the War and thus to preserve our national existence."

Of itself there was nothing dishonorable or opposed to National freedom in the acceptance of this policy. In the earlier periods of English history compulsory service was the badge of the freeman, and slaves only were exempt; conscription remained the basis of national defence under all the greater Kings, including Henry II and Edward I; it operated side by side with voluntaryism under Elizabeth and, though Charles I preferred the volunteer system, Cromwell used compulsion freely. In the wars with France

* For full details of all the events and conditions described in this volume, see *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1914–18, by the Author of these chapters.

conscription was used for home defence; the volunteer system for foreign service. Then came the British Peace period, the system of a voluntary army and militia. Before the World War of 1914 had reached its fourth year Conscription had become the recognized policy of every country involved except Canada, South Africa and Australia; in the two latter Dominions there was compulsory home training. The situation in Canada at the beginning of this year was that the Militia Act, under which "the Governor-in-Council may place the Militia, or any part thereof, on active service anywhere in Canada, and also beyond Canada, for the defence thereof, at any time when it appears advisable so to do by reason of emergency," had not been proclaimed; that the Canadian Army in France or England was there by special Parliamentary permission, Executive action and voluntary association; that no call had ever been made under the terms of the Militia Act by which the males of Canada, liable for military service, could have been enrolled, ordered for service, and sent abroad. Under this Act the male population liable to service was divided into four classes:

> (1) The First Class shall comprise all those of the age of 18 years and upwards, but under 30 years, who are unmarried or widowers without children.
>
> (2) The Second Class shall comprise all those of the age of 30 years and upwards, but under 45 years, who are unmarried or widowers without children.
>
> (3) The Third Class shall comprise all those of the age of 18 years and upwards, but under 45 years, who are married or widowers with children.
>
> (4) The Fourth Class shall comprise all those of the age of 40 years and upwards, but under 60 years.

The right of compulsion was inherent in this Act without further Parliamentary action; the power had not been util-

ized and the Militia had remained, through three years of war, as merely a supply base for enlistment, for officers, for training volunteers. By the first of the year 1917 compulsion of some kind, however, seemed imperative to most thoughtful men; but the Government had to deal with many who were not in that category and with many, also, who were deliberately hostile to this method of raising men for reasons of a personal, political, racial, or other nature. No stone was left unturned to avoid the contingency, and, after the National Service Board and its effort to regulate and expedite the work and enlistment, came the Lessard-Blondin attempt to arouse Quebec, and, finally, the Defence-Force scheme. There was expressed opposition all through these efforts and this period to compulsion in any form. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was known to be opposed to such a policy as, indeed, had been all political leaders and parties of the past; Quebec was obviously opposed to Conscription when it would not accept voluntaryism in the same measure as the rest of Canada; official Liberalism still denounced the policy and others deprecated it under any condition. At the same time enlistments were proving fewer, the work harder, the cost per man greater.

Such was the situation when, on May 18, after his return from England and his seat in the Imperial War Cabinet, Sir Robert Borden told the country that a Conscription measure was imperative and would be introduced shortly. It was known that the 1911 Census showed 1,720,070 males between 18 and 45 years of age, the enlistments to date were 414,000, the number of munition workers were about 300,000 of whom perhaps 100,000 would not come in the available class, the men of all ages engaged on farms were 917,000. In the Commons on June 13 the Minister of Militia submitted statistics showing the approximate number of the population between 20 and 45, under the Census of 1911, as 760,453 single men and 823,096 married men; the increase of population between 1911 and 1917 was about balanced by the number of men already enlisted.

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadian Artillery Loading Their Limbers From a Dump by the Roadside

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

A German High Velocity Gun Captured by the Canadians

The Prime Minister, in his announcement described the war situation as serious and added: "A great struggle lies before us, and I cannot put that before you more forcibly than by stating that at the commencement of this spring's campaign Germany put in the field 1,000,000 more men than she put in the field last spring." He deplored the Russian situation, expressed pleasure at the accession of the United States which had already contributed 9,000 men to the C. E. F., dealt with the submarine menace, had no hope of the War ending in 1917, and then proceeded: "Hitherto we have depended upon voluntary enlistment. I myself stated to Parliament that nothing but voluntary enlistment was proposed by the Government. But I return to Canada impressed at once with the extreme gravity of the situation and with a sense of responsibility for our further effort at the most critical period of the War. It is apparent to me that the voluntary system will not yield further substantial results." He added that the number of men required would not be less than 50,000 and would probably be 100,000. A month passed before the actual presentment of this measure to Parliament and in that period public opinion found a wide expression which, upon the whole, was favourable and was to be found within the ranks of all Parties.

During this period it gradually became clear that the Government would gain for its measure a number of Liberals in Parliament and much Liberal support in the country, that it would probably lose most of its current Quebec support, that the issue might, in the end, and certainly did, so far as an election was concerned, depend on the West. In the Commons on June 11 Sir Robert Borden introduced the Military Service Act and explained its provisions, and his reasons, more fully than usual on a first reading. He reviewed the War position and Canada's situation briefly, from the three and a half splendid months in which 100,000 Canadians enlisted to the later days of dragging effort and occasional evasion of duty and the

existing prospect of either dwindling Divisions at the Front or a reinforcement through Compulsory service. He did not propose enforcement of the Militia Act because that meant selection by ballot or chance: "We are convinced that the selection should be based upon an intelligent consideration of the country's needs and conditions. We must take into account the necessities of agriculture, of commerce, and of industry." In its preamble the Bill recited the defence clauses of the Militia Act and proclaimed the new measure as necessary to obtain reinforcements "for the defence and security of Canada, the preservation of the Empire and of human liberty." Administration was placed under the Department of Justice and the term was for duration of the War and of demobilization; it covered all male British subjects between 20 and 45 years of age and they were at first placed in ten classes, which were afterwards rearranged into six, as follows:

> CLASS 1. Those who have attained the age of 20 years and were born not earlier than the year 1883 and are unmarried, or are widowers but have no child.
>
> CLASS 2. Those who have attained the age of 20 years and were born not earlier than the year 1883 and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.
>
> CLASS 3. Those who were born in the years 1876 to 1882, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers who have no child.
>
> CLASS 4. Those who were born in the years 1876 to 1882, both inclusive, and who are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.
>
> CLASS 5. Those who were born in the years 1872 to 1875, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers who have no child.
>
> CLASS 6. Those who were born in the years 1872 to 1875, both inclusive, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

These classes were to be called up from time to time by proclamation of the Governor-in-Council and when called

up became enlisted soldiers under military law; before reporting they were deemed to be on leave of absence without pay; those not reporting within reasonable time would be guilty of desertion or absence without leave and liable to imprisonment at hard labour. The tribunals to deal with exemptions and to hear appeals were (1) Local Exemption Courts, (2) Appeal Courts, and (3) a Central Appeal Judge who would be the final court of appeal. The conditions of exemption were broad and liberal: (1) that of working in essential War occupations; (2) those in work for which they had special qualifications; (3) cases where "serious hardship would ensue, if the man were placed on active service, owing to his exceptional financial or business obligations or domestic position, ill-health or infirmity"; and (4) conscientious objection to combatant service or prohibition by the tenets of his faith. Certain classes were exempted, such as members of His Majesty's regular or reserve, or auxiliary forces, as defined by the Army Act. These, in the main, were as in the British Act; men serving in any of the British forces on land or sea, with clergy and ministers of all religious denominations, and settlers of the Mennonite or Doukhobor communities were also excluded. Sir Wilfrid Laurier followed at length and indicated the reasons which compelled him to accept a split in his Party upon this question, to break the unanimity of Canadian war action, to become essentially the leader of his people in Quebec and to make necessary, later on, a War election conflict. His reasons may be summarized briefly, with the use of his own words, as follows:

> 1. To-day the Government brings down a measure to substitute for voluntary service compulsory service — compulsory service, which the Government from the day the war broke out up to the 18th of April this year has said never would be resorted to. I rise to ask, whether this new measure will

not be more detrimental than helpful to the cause which we have at heart.

2. The law of the land, which antedates Confederation by many generations, and which was reintroduced at the time of Confederation, emphatically declared that no man in Canada shall be subjected to compulsory military service except to repel invasion for the defence of Canada. I claim there never was any danger of invasion on the part of Germany.

3. Would anyone believe that, if the Government had told us (1916) that they contemplated introducing the new, radical principle of Conscription, Parliament would have been extended? When this Government asks this moribund Parliament to pass such a law as this, it is an abuse of the authority which has been placed in their hands by the people of Canada.

4. There is in all the Provinces of the Dominion at the present moment, amongst the working classes, an opposition to this measure which is not wavering, but which is becoming stronger every day. There is another class which has been strongly opposed to Conscription. I refer to the French-Canadian portion of the population.

5. I ask which is the course most conducive to success in the War — compulsion with irritation and bitterness and a sense of intolerance and injustice, or consultation with consequent union, and universal satisfaction all around? . . . What I propose is that we should have a Referendum and a consultation of the people upon this question.

6. When the verdict of the people has been given, there can be no further question, and everybody will have to submit to the law. I repeat the pledge I gave a moment ago on behalf of my own Province, that every man, although he is to-day opposed to the law, shall do service as well as any man of any other race.

The Leader of the Opposition then moved an amendment that "the further consideration of this Bill be deferred until the principle thereof has, by means of a Referendum, been

submitted to and approved of by the electors of Canada." The ensuing debate was a long and interesting one, lasting for over three weeks and including a Nationalist amendment to the amendment, presented on June 20, by J. A. Barrette, demanding that "this Bill be not now read a second time but it be read a second time this day six months." The second reading took place on July 5, with the Barrette amendment receiving nine votes to 165, the Laurier amendment 62 to 111, an amendment by A. B. Copp, proposing delay, 56 to 115. The Bill passed by 118 to 155, the third reading by 102 to 44, and became law in due course. Early in September a Military Service Council was appointed to aid the Justice Department in administering the Act, while the Premier and the Opposition leader joined in the appointment of a Board of Selection to create the necessary Exemption Tribunals; Registrars and Medical Boards were also appointed. By the close of 1917, 404,395 had registered, 380,510 had asked for exemption, with 278,779 claims allowed by local tribunals and 47,868 disallowed. The number of men eventually obtained under and by means of the Military Service Act (October 13, 1917, to November 15, 1918) was 83,355, of whom 20,743 reported voluntarily and 62,612 reported as ordered or under compulsory conditions; the number originally expected by the Government was from 50,000 to 100,000. The total of all enlistments up to the end of the War was 611,741.* The Army thus raised was eventually represented in Infantry and Cavalry Battalions as shown in the following official tables issued by the Government at the close of the War—but not including Engineers, Pioneers, Cyclists, Army Service Corps, Forestry and Railway Construction or the Siberian Expeditionary Force of about 4,000 men:

* Speech by Maj.-Gen. S. C. Mewburn, C.M.G., Minister of Militia, Toronto, December 16, 1918.

ORIGINAL OFFICERS AND STRENGTH OF INFANTRY BATTALION

Infantry Unit	Original Officer Commanding	Date of sailing	Strength on sailing		Headquarters on mobilization
			O.	O. R.	
P. P. C. L. I.	Lt.-Col. F. D. Farquhar, D.S.O.	3–10–14	33	1,083	Valcartier
R. C. R.	Lt.-Col. A. E. Carpenter	26– 8–15	34	1,052	Halifax
1st Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. W. Hill	3–10–14	47	1,106	Valcartier
2nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. Watson	3–10–14	45	1,098	Valcartier
3rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. Rennie	3–10–14	43	1,101	Valcartier
4th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. H. Labatt	3–10–14	42	1,084	Valcartier
5th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. S. Tuxford	3–10–14	45	1,095	Valcartier
6th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. W. Paterson	3–10–14	40	1,115	Valcartier
7th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. Hart-McHarg	3–10–14	47	1,176	Valcartier
8th Batt.	Lt.-Col. L. J. Lipsett	3–10–14	45	1,085	Valcartier
9th Batt.	Lt.-Col. S. M. Rogers	3–10–14	44	1,101	Valcartier
10th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. L. Boyle	3–10–14	41	1,065	Valcartier
11th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. Burritt	3–10–14	45	1,119	Valcartier
12th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. F. McLeod	3–10–14	45	1,028	Valcartier
13th Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. O. W. Loomis	3–10–14	45	1,112	Valcartier
14th Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. S. Meighen	3–10–14	46	1,097	Valcartier
15th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. A. Currie	3–10–14	44	1,109	Valcartier
16th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. G. E. Leckie	3–10–14	47	1,096	Valcartier
17th Batt.	Lt.-Col. S. G. Robertson	3–10–14	39	717	Valcartier
18th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. S. Wigle	18– 4–15	36	1,081	London, Ont.
19th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. J. McLaren	13– 5–15	41	1,073	Toronto
20th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. A. W. Allen	15– 5–15	35	1,100	Toronto
21st Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. St. P. Hughes	6– 5–15	42	1,057	Kingston
22nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. M. Gaudet	20– 5–15	36	1,097	St. Jean, P. Q.
23rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. W. Fisher	23– 2–15	35	942	Quebec
24th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. A. Gunn	11– 5–15	42	1,082	Montreal
25th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. A. LeCain	20– 5–15	42	1,081	Halifax
26th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. L. McAvity	13– 6–15	42	1,108	St. John, N. B.
27th Batt.	Lt.-Col. I. R. Snider	17– 5–15	33	1,039	Winnipeg
28th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. F. L. Embury	29– 5–15	36	1,078	Winnipeg
29th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. S. Tobin	20– 5–15	37	1,090	Vancouver
30th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. A. Hall	23– 2–15	35	980	Vancouver
31st Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. B. Bell	17– 5–15	36	1,033	Calgary
32nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. J. Cowan	23– 2–15	35	962	Winnipeg
33rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. Wilson	13– 3–16	40	946	London, Ont.
34th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. J Oliver	23–10–15	41	1,102	Guelph, Ont.
35th Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. C. McCordick	16–10–15	41	1,115	Toronto
36th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. C Ashton	19– 6–15	39	1,004	Hamilton
37th Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. F. Beck	27–11–15	40	1,104	Sault Ste. Marie
38th Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. W. Edwards	30– 5–16	37	1,038	Ottawa
39th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. A. V. Preston	24– 6–15	40	1,003	Belleville
40th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. Vincent	8–10–15	40	1,090	Halifax
41st Batt.	Lt.-Col. L. A. Archambault	18–10–15	36	1,082	Quebec
42nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. S. Cantlie	10– 6–15	40	978	Montreal
43rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. M. Thomson	1– 6–15	40	998	Winnipeg
44th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. R. Wayland	23–10–15	36	1,076	Winnipeg
45th Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. J. Clark	13– 3–16	38	720	Brandon
46th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. Snell	23–10–15	36	1,115	Regina
47th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. R. Winsby	13–11–15	36	1,114	New Westminster
48th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. J. H. Holmes	1– 7–15	38	1,020	Victoria
49th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. A. Griesbach	4– 6–15	36	996	Edmonton
50th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. G. Mason	27–10–15	41	1,036	Calgary
51st Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. DeL. Harwood	18– 4–16	37	1,055	Edmonton
52nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. A. D. Hulme	23–11–16	40	1,032	Port Arthur
53rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. M. Dennistoun	29– 3–16	35	1,063	Winnipeg
54th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. M. Davis	22–11–15	36	1,111	Nelson, B. C.
55th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. R. Kirkpatrick	30–10–15	42	1,097	Sussex, N. B.
56th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. C. G. Armstrong	23– 3–16	40	1,070	Calgary
57th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. T. Paquette	2– 6–16	18	419	Quebec
58th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. A. Genet	22–11–15	40	1,091	Toronto
59th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. J. Dawson	21– 4–16	36	1,073	Brockville
60th Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. A. Gascoigne	6–11–15	40	1,024	Valcartier
61st Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. J. Murray	21– 4–16	37	1,091	Winnipeg
62nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. Hulme	23– 3–16	36	1,037	Vancouver
63rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. B. McLeod	22– 4–16	36	1,018	Edmonton
64th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. M. Campbell	31– 3–16	38	1,089	Halifax
65th Batt.	Lt.-Col. N. Lang	18– 6–16	33	1,040	Saskatoon
66th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. W. McKinery	28– 4–16	36	1,071	Edmonton
67th Batt.	Lt.-Col. Lorne Ross	21– 4–16	34	1,045	Victoria
68th Batt.	Lt.-Col. P. E. Perrett	28– 4–16	34	1,067	Regina
69th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. A. Dansereau	17– 4–16	34	1,023	Montreal
70th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. I. Towers	24– 4–16	35	936	London, Ont.
71st Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. M. Sutherland	21– 4–16	35	963	Woodstock, Ont.
72nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. A. Clark	23– 4–16	34	1,094	Vancouver
73rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. P. Davidson	31– 3–16	36	1,033	Montreal

ORIGINAL OFFICERS AND STRENGTH OF INFANTRY BATTALION — *Continued*

INFANTRY UNIT	ORIGINAL OFFICER COMMANDING	Date of sailing	Strength on sailing		Headquarters on mobilisation
			O.	O. R.	
74th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. M. McCausland	29- 3-16	34	1,046	Toronto
75th Batt.	Lt.-Col. S. G. Beckett	29- 3-16	36	1,114	Toronto
76th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. Ballantine	23- 4-16	36	1,006	Barrie, Ont.
77th Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. R. Street	19- 6-16	38	1,007	Ottawa
78th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. Kirkcaldy	20- 5-16	37	1,097	Winnipeg
79th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. Clinglan	24- 4-16	37	1,095	Brandon, Man.
80th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. G. Ketcheson	16- 5-16	35	1,041	Belleville
81st Batt.	Lt.-Col. B. H. Belson	28- 4-16	36	1,067	Toronto
82nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. A. Lowry	20- 5-16	34	1,006	Calgary
83rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. Pellatt	28- 4-16	35	1,081	Toronto
84th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. D. Stewart	18- 6-16	36	913	Toronto
85th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. C. Phinney	12-10-16	34	1,001	Halifax
86th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. W. Stewart	19- 5-16	36	1,072	Hamilton
87th Batt.	Lt.-Col. I. P. Rexford	23- 4-16	36	1,026	St. Jean, P. Q.
88th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. J. R. Cullin	31- 5-16	34	1,029	Victoria
89th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. W. Nasmyth	31- 5-16	33	969	Calgary
90th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. A. Monroe	31- 5-16	36	1,087	Winnipeg
91st Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. J. Green	28- 6-16	32	905	St. Thomas
92nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. G. Chisholm	20- 5-16	36	1,096	Toronto
93rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. I. J. Johnston	15- 7-16	36	868	Peterborough
94th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. A. C. Machin	28- 6-16	36	1,009	Port Arthur
95th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. K. Barker	31- 5-16	36	1,061	Toronto
96th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. Glenn	26- 9-16	29	768	Saskatoon
97th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. B. Clark	18- 9-16	31	798	Toronto
98th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. A. Rose	8- 7-16	36	1,050	Welland, Ont.
99th Batt.	Lt.-Col. T. B. Welch	31- 5-16	36	825	Windsor, Ont.
100th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. B. Mitchell	18- 9-16	31	880	Winnipeg
101st Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. MacLean	28- 6-16	36	1,025	Winnipeg
102nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. W. Warden	18- 6-16	37	968	Victoria
103rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. C. J. L. Henniker	23- 7-16	37	939	Victoria
104th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. W. Fowler	28- 6-16	42	1,084	Sussex, N. B.
105th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. E. Ings	15- 7-16	37	1,087	Charlottetown
106th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. Innes	15- 7-16	36	1,009	Truro, N. S.
107th Batt.	Lt.-Col. Glen Campbell	18- 9-16	32	965	Winnipeg
108th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. H. Bradbury	18- 9-16	32	843	Selkirk, Man.
109th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. J. H. Fee	23- 7-16	35	775	Lindsay, Ont.
110th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. B. Youngs	31-10-16	26	635	Strathford, Ont.
111th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. D. Clark	25- 9-16	25	637	Galt, Ont.
112th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. B. Tremaine	23- 7-16	36	1,090	Windsor, N. S.
113th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. A. Pryce Jones	25- 9-16	30	883	Lethbridge, Alberta
114th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. T. Thompson	31-10-16	30	679	Cayuga, Ont.
115th Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. V. Wedderburn	23- 7-16	34	801	St. Johns N B
116th Batt.	Lt.-Col. S. Sharpe	23- 7-16	36	943	Uxbridge, Ont.
117th Batt.	Lt.-Col. L. J. Gilbert	14- 8-16	36	856	Sherbrooke, P. Q.
118th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. M. O. Lochead	23- 1-17	15	231	Kitchener
119th Batt.	Lt.-Col. T. P. T. Rowland	8- 8-16	32	935	Sault Ste. Marie
120th Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. G. Fearman	14- 8-16	32	838	Hamilton
121st Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. W. McLelan	14- 8-16	32	1,033	New Westminster, B. C.
122nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. M. Grant	2- 6-17	26	686	Huntsville & Galt, Ont.
123rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. B. Kingsmill	7- 8-16	12	369	Toronto
124th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. C. V. Chadwick	7- 8-16	32	1,004	Toronto
125th Batt.	Lt.-Col. M. E. B. Cutcliffe	7- 8-16	32	974	Brantford
126th Batt.	Lt.-Col. S. J. Hamilton	14- 8-16	32	822	Toronto
127th Batt.	Lt.-Col. T. Clark	22- 8-16	32	972	Toronto
128th Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. Pawlett	15- 6-16	32	988	Moosejaw, Sask
129th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. Knowles	22- 8-16	32	807	Dundas, Ont.
130th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. F. DeHertel	23- 9-16	25	573	Perth, Ont.
131st Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. D. Taylor	31-10-16	32	954	New Westminster
132nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. W. Mesereau	25-10-16	32	809	Chatham, N. B.
133rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. C. Pratt	30-10-16	21	665	Simcoe, Ont.
134th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. A. Miller	6- 9-16	32	1,078	Toronto
135th Batt.	Lt.-Col. B. Robson	22- 8-16	32	910	London, Ont.
136th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. W. Smart	25- 9-16	18	492	Port Hope, Ont.
137th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. W. Morfitt	22- 8-16	32	932	Calgary
138th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. Belcher	22- 8-16	32	870	Edmonton
139th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. H. Floyd	25- 9-16	21	495	Cobourg
140th Batt.	Lt.-Col. L. H. Beer	25- 9-16	33	820	St. Johns, N. B.
141st Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. C. McKenzie	29- 4-17	17	466	Fort Francis
142nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. M. R. Graham	31-10-16	26	574	London, Ont.
143rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. B. Powley	17- 2-17	32	883	Victoria
144th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. W. Morley	18- 9-16	29	962	Winnipeg
145th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. E. Forbes	25- 9-16	19	524	Moncton, N. B.
146th Batt.	Major C. A. Lowe	25- 9-16	26	581	Kingston, Ont.
147th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. F. McFarland	13-11-16	32	910	Owen Sound
148th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. Magee	26- 9-16	32	953	Montreal, P. Q.

ORIGINAL OFFICERS AND STRENGTH OF INFANTRY BATTALION — *Continued*

INFANTRY UNIT	ORIGINAL OFFICER COMMANDING	Date of sailing	Strength on sailing		Headquarters on mobilization
			O.	O. R.	
149th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. G. C. Kelley	22- 3-17	18	439	Watford, Ont.
150th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. Barre	23- 9-16	24	515	Montreal
151st Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. W. Arnott	3-10-16	29	925	Strathcona
152nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. S. Nells	3-10-16	29	743	Waybarn, Sask.
153rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. T. Pritchard	20- 4-17	17	511	Guelph, Ont.
154th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. G. F. McDonald	25-10-16	29	873	Cornwall
155th Batt.	Lt.-Col. M. K. Adams	17-10-16	29	836	Belleville
156th Batt.	Lt.-Col. T. C. D. Bedell	17-10-16	28	778	Brockville
157th Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. H. McLaren	17-10-16	32	966	Barne, Ont.
158th Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. Milne	13-11-16	31	966	Vancouver
159th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. F. Armstrong	31-10-16	32	972	Haileybury
160th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. Weir	17-10-16	31	978	Walkerton, Ont.
161st Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. B. Combe	30-10-16	28	749	Clinton, Ont.
162nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. Arthurs	31-10-16	30	766	Parry Sound
163rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. Desrosiers	27-11-16	38	822	Montreal
164th Batt.	Lt.-Col. P. Domville	11- 4-16	26	710	Milton, Ont.
165th Batt.	Lt.-Col. L. C. D'Aigle	28- 3-16	24	526	Moncton
166th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. G. Mitchell	12-10-16	32	859	Toronto
167th Batt.	Lt.-Col. O. Readman	Converted into Quebec recruiting Batt.			Quebec
168th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. T. McMullin	30-10-16	26	688	Woodstock
169th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. G. Wright	17-10-16	32	857	Toronto
170th Batt.	Lt.-Col. L. Reed	25-10-16	31	888	Toronto
171st Batt.	Lt.-Col. Sir W. Price	23-11-16	27	574	Quebec
172nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. R. Vickers	25-10-16	32	972	Kamloops, B. C.
173rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. H. Bruce	13-11-16	32	930	Hamilton, Ont.
174th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. F. Osler	20- 4-17	14	275	Winnipeg
175th Batt.	Lt.-Col. N. Spencer	3-10-16	30	847	Medicine Hat
176th Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. Sharpe	20- 4-17	18	446	St. Catherines
177th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. B. McPhee	3-05-17	19	549	Simcoe, Ont.
178th Batt.	Lt.-Col. L. de la B. Girouard	3- 3-17	20	415	Victoriaville
179th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. Y. Reid	3-10-16	32	890	Winnipeg
180th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. H. Green	13-11-16	31	838	Toronto
181st Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. B. Combe	18- 4-17	20	597	Brandon, Man.
182nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. A. Cockburn	3- 5-17	9	208	Whitby
183rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. T. Edgecomb	3-10-16	13	431	Winnipeg
184th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. H. Sharpe	31-10-16	32	1,042	Lisgar, Man.
185th Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. P. Day	12-10-16	33	1,006	Halifax
186th Batt.	Major Neil Smith	28- 3-17	18	469	Chatham, Ont.
187th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. W. Robinson	15-12-16	24	744	Red Deer
188th Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. J. Donaldson	12-10-16	32	1,004	Prince Albert
189th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. Piuze	23- 9-16	26	595	Fraserville
190th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. K. Watson	3- 5-17	15	372	Winnipeg
191st Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. G Bryan	28- 3-17	6	246	McLeod, Alta.
192nd Batt.	Captain H. E. Lyon	31-10-16	23	524	Blairemore
193rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. Stanfield	12-10-16	32	1,020	Truro, N. S.
194th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. C. Craig	13-11-16	31	906	Edmonton
195th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. C. Gomer	31-10-16	31	998	Regina
196th Batt.	Lt.-Col. D. S. Mackay	31-10-16	32	974	Camp Hughes
197th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. G. Fonseca	23- 1-17	9	306	Winnipeg
198th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. A. Cooper	28- 3-17	31	841	Toronto
199th Batt.	Lt.-Col. P. J. Trihey	15-12-16	33	860	Montreal
200th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. L. Bonnycastle	3- 5-17	17	477	Winnipeg
201st Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. W. Hagarty	.....	..	....	Disbanded
202nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. T. E. Bowen	23-11-16	27	746	Edmonton
203rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. E. Hansford	26-10-16	32	957	Winnipeg
204th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. H. Price	28- 3-17	27	789	Toronto
205th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. R. Moodie	Converted into C. M. C. Corps.			Hamilton
206th Batt.	Lt.-Col. T. Pagnuelo	Sent drafts to Bermuda.			Montreal
207th Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. W. McLean	2- 6-17	27	652	Ottawa
208th Batt.	Lt.-Col. T. H. Lennox	21- 3-17	27	686	Toronto
209th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. O. Smyth	31-10-16	29	915	Swift Current, Sask.
210th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. E. Seaborn	11- 4-17	18	462	Moosejaw, Sask.
211th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. M. Sage	15-12-16	25	662	Vancouver, B. C.
212th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. C. Pitman	Disbanded unable to obtain recruits.			Winnipeg
213th Batt.	Lt.-Col. B. J. McCormick	Disbanded unable to obtain recruits.			St. Catharines
214th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. H. Hearn	18- 4-17	20	595	Wadena, Sask.
215th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. E. Snider	20- 4-17	16	327	Brantford
216th Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. L. Burton	18- 4-17	30	783	Toronto
217th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. B. Gillis	2- 6-17	24	634	Moosomin, Sask.
218th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. K. Cornwall	17- 2-17	32	883	Victoria
219th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. H. Muirhead	12-10-16	33	997	Halifax

ORIGINAL OFFICERS AND STRENGTH OF INFANTRY BATTALION — *Continued*

INFANTRY UNIT	ORIGINAL OFFICER COMMANDING	Date of sailing	Strength on sailing O.	Strength on sailing O. R.	Headquarters on mobilisation
220th Batt.	Lt.-Col. B. H. Brown	29- 4-17	18	446	Toronto.
221st Batt.	Lt.-Col. M. McMeans	18- 4-17	23	596	Winnipeg
222nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. Lightfoot	13-11-16	32	993	Winnipeg
223rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. Albrechsten	3- 5-17	17	507	Winnipeg
224th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. McDougall	19- 5-16	47	1,526	Ottawa
225th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. Mackay	25- 1-17	20	427	Fernie, B. C.
226th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. A. G. Gillespie	15-12-16	32	1,035	Dauphin, Man.
227th Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. H. LeP. Jones	11- 4-17	28	783	Hamilton
228th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. Earchman	16- 2-17	31	756	North Bay
229th Batt.	Lt.-Col. H. D. Pickett	18- 4-17	17	426	Moosejaw
230th Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. de Salaberry	23- 1-17	18	687	Brockville
231st Batt.	Lt.-Col. F. E. Leach	11- 4-17	28	661	Vancouver
232nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. R. P. Laurie	18- 4-17	13	286	Battleford
233rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. Leprohon	Absorbed by 178th Batt.			Winnipeg
234th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. Wallace	18- 4-17	15	279	Toronto
235th Batt.	Lt.-Col. S. B. Scobel	3- 5-17	19	438	Belleville
236th Batt.	Lt.-Col. P. A. Guthrie	9-11-17	27	1,029	Fredericton
237th Batt.	Lt.-Col. Rev. C. S. Bullock	Disbanded.			Sussex
238th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. R. Smith	11- 9-16	44	1,081	Valcartier
239th Batt.	Major V. L. MacDonald	15-12-16	26	738	Valcartier
240th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. J. Watt	3- 5-17	14	375	Renfrew
241st Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. L. McGregor	29- 4-17	31	625	Windsor
242nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. B. White	23-11-16	44	1,006	Montreal.
243rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. E. Bradshaw	2- 6-17	16	391	Prince Albert
244th Batt.	Lt.-Col. E. M. McRobie	28- 3-17	27	604	Montreal
245th Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. C. Ballantyne	3- 5-17	16	274	Montreal
246th Batt.	Lt.-Col. N. H. Parson	2- 6-17	14	233	Halifax
247th Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. H. Ackerman	Absorbed by 236th Batt.			Peterboro
248th Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. H. Rorke	2- 6-17	13	259	Owen Sound
249th Batt.	Lt.-Col. C. B. Keenlyside	21- 2-18	15	709	Regina
250th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. H. Hastings	Amalgamated with 249th Batt.			Winnipeg
251st Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. H. Nicholson	6-10-17	4	170	Winnipeg
252nd Batt.	Lt.-Col. J. J. Glass	2- 6-17	6	127	Lindsay
253rd Batt.	Lt.-Col. P. G. C. Campbell	29- 4-17	17	461	Kingston
254th Batt.	Lt.-Col. A. P. Allen	2- 6-17	8	243	Belleville
255th Batt.	Lt.-Col. G. C. Royce	2- 6-17	13	284	Toronto
256th Batt.	Lt.-Col. W. A. McConnell	28- 3-17	18	531	Toronto
257th Batt.	Lt.-Col. L. T. Martin	16- 2-17	29	902	Ottawa
258th Batt.	Lt.-Col. P. E. Blondin	6-10-17	16	215	Quebec
No. 1 University Inf. Co.	Captain P. Molson	29- 5-15	6	250	Montreal
No. 2 University Inf. Co.	Captain G. C. MacDonald	29- 6-17	6	264	Montreal
No. 3 University Inf. Co.	Lieut. F. L. Turnbull	4- 9-15	4	323	Montreal
No. 4 University Inf. Co.	Lieut. J. R. Mitchener	27-11-15	5	250	Montreal
No. 5 University Inf. Co.	Lieut. O. S. Tyndale	2- 4-16	5	250	Montreal
Yukon Inf. Co.	Comm. Black	24- 1-17	6	224	Dawson City
No. 1. Jewish Inf. Co.	Captain I. Friedman	28- 3-17	3	83	Montreal
No. 1 Independ't Inf. Co.	Major T. J. Langford	6-10-17	3	102	Winnipeg

ORIGINAL OFFICERS AND STRENGTH OF CAVALRY BATTALION

CAVALRY UNIT	ORIGINAL OFFICER COMMANDING	Date of sailing	Strength on sailing O.	Strength on sailing O. R.	Headquarters on mobilisation
R. C. D.	Lt.-Col. C. M. Nelles	3-10-14	31	552	Toronto
L. S. H.	Lt.-Col. A. C. MacDonald	3-10-14	32	532	Winnipeg
R. N. W. M. P.	Major G. L. Jennings	4- 6-18	16	634	Regina
C. M. R. Depot	Lt.-Col. W. C. Brooks	22-10-17	18	577	Hamilton
1st C. M. R. Bde.	Lt.-Col. F. O. Sissons	12- 6-15	86	1,738	Winnipeg
1st Regt. C. M. R.	Lt.-Col. H. J. Stevenson	12- 6-15	Included in		1st Brigade
2nd Regt. C. M. R.	Lt.-Col. J. C. L. Bott	12- 6-15	Included in		1st Brigade
3rd Regt. C. M. R.	Lt.-Col. L. J. Whittaker	12- 6-15	Included in		1st Brigade
2nd C. M. R. Bde.	Col. C. A. Smart	18- 7-15	97	1,595	Sherbrooke
4th Regt. C. M. R.	Lt.-Col. S. F. Smith	18- 7-15	Included in		2nd Brigade
5th Regt C. M. R.	Lt.-Col. G. H. Baker	18- 7-15	Included in		2nd Brigade
6th Regt. C. M. R.	Lt.-Col. R. H. Ryan	18- 7-15	Included in		2nd Brigade

ORIGINAL OFFICERS AND STRENGTH OF CAVALRY BATTALION — *Continued*

CAVALRY UNIT	ORIGINAL OFFICER COMMANDING	Date of sailing	Strength on sailing		Headquarters on mobilisation
			O.	O. R.	
7th Regt. C. M. R.....	Major E. I. Leonard.....	29- 6-15	7	159	London, Ont.
8th Regt. C. M. R.....	Lt.-Col. J. R. Munro.....	9-10-15	31	601	Ottawa
9th Regt. C. M. R.....	Lt.-Col. G. C. Hodson.....	23-11-15	27	599	Lloydminster
10th Regt. C. M. R.....	Major F. C. Washington.....	28- 4-16	23	392	Portage la Prairie
11th Regt. C. M. R.....	Lt.-Col. G. H. Kirkpatrick....	8- 7-16	34	883	Vancouver
12th Regt. C. M. R.....	Lt.-Col. G. MacDonald.....	9-10-15	27	544	Calgary
13th Regt. C. M. R.....	Lt.-Col. V. H. Holmes.....	28- 6-16	34	933	Medicine Hat
1st Can. Div. Cav. Sq...	Lt.-Col. F. C. Jamieson.....	3-10-14	6	171	Valcartier
2nd Can. Div. Cav. Sq..	Major H. J. Leonard.....	9- 6-15	6	166	London, Ont.
3rd Can. Div. Cav. Sq...	Major T. W. Wright.....	22- 1-16	5	155	Winnipeg
4th Can. Div. Cav. Sq...	Lt.-Col. R. A. Carman.....	28- 4-16	6	151	Portage la Prairie

CHAPTER VI

ON THE WAY TO WAR — CANADIANS IN ENGLAND

To THE soldiers in training at Valcartier there came at the close of a few weeks orders to leave Canada and face conditions of further training in England and of fierce unknown fighting on the soil of France or Belgium. Some of them knew what war was and were veterans of South Africa or India or varied minor conflicts. Many, indeed the great majority, had been born and lived in the Island Kingdom which owed so much to its small but gallant army, and where people had, forty-odd years before, seen the Germans smash their way into Paris; a minority, of native-born Canadians, were filled with intense interest in their first sight of the historic land of their fathers and all were anxious for the opportunity to share in that mighty conflict which was dying red the soil of two famous countries as the huge German war machine advanced and fought and receded and finally entrenched itself for the first winter of the War.

On September 21, 1914, the Canadian Premier and other Ministers visited Valcartier to say farewell to the troops; on the 24th Colonel Hughes told the press at Ottawa, in a curiously uncensored statement, that a portion of the Force was on its way to England and that the other transports were being quickly loaded. Meanwhile, on September 22, in local silence and secrecy, the Contingent had commenced to embark from historic Quebec into the great line of transports which awaited them and, as each one was filled, it quietly proceeded down the spacious St. Lawrence toward the Gulf, where a convoy of British warships was waiting about eight miles from Gaspé. There were thirty-two ves-

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sels used to transport the men to England and the last did not join the procession down the river until October 1. At Gaspé they were awaited and all departed together on October 3. The transports included the *Adania, Athenia, Alaunia, Arcadian, Bermudian, Cassandria, Carribean, Corinthian, Franconia, Grampian, Ivernia, Lapland, Laurentic, Lakonia, Manitou, Monmouth, Montreal, Montezuma, Megantic, Scotian, Sicilian, Scandinavian, Saxonia, Royal George, Royal Edward, Ruthenia, Tyrolia, Tunisian, Virginia, Zealand.* The flagship of Rear-Admiral Rosslyn E. Wemyss, C.M.G., D.S.O., in command of this historic fleet of transports and ten battleships, cruisers, destroyers, etc., was the *Charybdis.* Amongst the cruisers were the *Talbot,* the *Eclipse,* and the *Diana;* the Dreadnoughts *Glory* and *Queen Mary* met them two or three days out at sea; with the convoy a little later was H. M. S. *Lion.* On each transport as it sailed away from Quebec there was read a message from Field Marshal, H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught: "On the eve of your departure from Canada I wish to congratulate you on having the privilege of taking part, with the other Forces of the Crown, in fighting for the honour of the King and Empire. You have nobly responded to the call of duty, and Canada will know how to appreciate the patriotic spirit that animates you. I have complete confidence that you will do your duty, and that Canada will have every reason to be proud of you. You leave these shores with the knowledge that all Canadian hearts beat for you, and that our prayers and best wishes will ever attend you. May God bless you and bring you back victorious."

The Contingent arrived at Plymouth on October 14 and was disembarked on the 15th at that ancient home of Drake and one-time seat of England's sea-power. A great popular welcome was accorded the men before they entrained for Salisbury Plain — a well-known place which had been used for camping and drilling of British soldiers during many years. The people of Plymouth were greatly sur-

prised when line after line of battleships and transports came in sight and glided into port; it had been understood that the landing would be at Southampton (some printed statements said Bristol and Liverpool) but submarine dangers had intervened. To the Dominion Government on October 16 Winston Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty, sent the following despatch: "Canada sends her aid at a timely moment. The conflict moves forward and fiercer struggles lie before us than any which have yet been fought." To Major-General E. A. H. Alderson, C.B., in charge of the disembarkation, came a telegram from F. M. Lord Kitchener: "Will you please convey my cordial greetings to the splendid Contingent from Canada which has just reached these shores to take their share in the cause of the Mother Country. I am confident that they will play their part with gallantry, and show by their soldier-like bearing that they worthily represent the great Dominion from which they come."

At the Camp (twenty miles from Salisbury) Canadians found that Staff officers, assisted by Territorial troops and New Zealanders who had recently enlisted in England, had been working for weeks to prepare matters for their occupancy and, according to press correspondents, they all expressed gratification at the comforts provided and arrangements made. General Alderson was appointed in command and his thirty-six years of experience in the Transvaal, Egypt, Soudan, Mashonaland, South African War, and India, gave him background and knowledge for this new and strenuous period. In it the first question that came up was that of a liquor canteen; in this he had to meet the temperance convictions of Colonel Hughes — who, however, had no real jurisdiction in the matter — and the extreme views of some Canadians and women's organizations who, of course, had no technical status. Addressing the troops on October 22 the General declared that they would be treated like men, not boys. The older soldiers

would be relied upon to keep the younger in order, and, amid prolonged cheers, he stated that certain difficulties had been overcome so that within a few days the usual British canteen would be opened in the various Camps. It was said that the drastic temperance policy adopted by the Minister at Valcartier, with such apparent popular approval in Canada, followed by a tedious sea voyage, had developed conditions which made reaction inevitable and caused some at least of the not very important troubles afterwards so much discussed and unduly magnified in the Dominion. Eventually the Canadian Government issued a statement on November 30 that: "According to official information the complete abolition of the 'wet canteen,' so called, resulted in excesses and disorders among a few of the men when they obtained leave of absence, and resorted to neighbouring towns and villages where the opportunity to purchase liquor presented itself. After careful consideration, General Alderson determined that it would be better to have a regulated wet canteen, at which beer might be sold at certain hours and under careful supervision; such canteens to be opened for one hour at noon and for three hours in the evening. Beer only is sold and non-commissioned officers are always on duty. The Government is assured by the War Office that the trouble in the neighbouring villages, which occasioned much concern at first, has practically ceased since the opening of these regulated and supervised canteens."

Not far from the Canadian troops were quartered 200,000 British soldiers under training; at Bustard was established the Divisional headquarters, and here Colonel Victor Williams acted as Camp Commandant for the whole Force, while Lieut.-Col. Mercer was in charge of a Bustard Camp contingent of about 10,000 men; leave was easily obtained during some weeks by the individual soldier who soon found that the word "Canada" on his shoulder strap was a magic symbol, winning kindness and courtesy and, at times also,

a ready road to trouble. Difficulties as to discipline developed early and at first were not thought of seriously owing to the long voyage and personal characteristics in officers and men which it was supposed time and rules of rigid military custom and necessity would easily subdue. Every public honour that could be paid the Contingent was readily accorded. F. M. Earl Roberts, as Colonel-in-Chief of the Overseas Forces, addressed them on October 26. On November 4 the King and Queen Mary, accompanied by a large staff and by F. M. Lord Kitchener, F. M. Lord Roberts, Hon. G. H. Perley, Sir Richard McBride and others, visited the Camp. Meanwhile General Alderson was getting into close personal touch with officers and men. He told them, quite frankly, that they were a splendid body of men but were weak in discipline and that this was the greatest fault of the Division.

Toward the end of October the rain commenced and continued in a heavy and unusual degree; for weeks the Camp was a mass of mud, the discomforts were many and excessive, the drill and transport and training were all alike interfered with. During this gloomy period 50,000 new books were provided and distributed amongst the various Camp libraries, while from private sources — in many cases by clergymen — there were supplied thousands of playing cards. Ladies in limousines and motors distributed great quantities of cigarettes. Meantime steady and hard work was the order of days. Heavy tramping over wet and sodden downs, skirmishing work by battalions with sudden dashes of men in full attack, and sharp onsets upon a supposed enemy by night, were interspersed with ordinary drill by day, rifle practice and bayonet exercise. Endurance was especially taught and the weather proved a great though severe test. Officers who had enthusiasm in abundance but lacked sense of responsibility, and necessarily the basis of war experience, were got into the splendid form which afterwards worked such great results. So with privates who lacked the spirit of discipline until they under-

stood its vital nature in actual war. By the end of the year the feeling of the men was illustrated in a remark attributed to one of them: "The King has seen us, Kitchener has seen us and Lord Roberts has seen us. Now just let us see the Germans!" The chief officers of this force — afterwards famous as the 1st Canadian Division — were as follows:

Military Secretary to Commander....	Col. J. C. MacDougall.
Senior General Staff Officer.....	Brig.-Gen. R. C. B. Lawrence.*
General Staff Officer.....	Col. E. H. Heard.*
General Staff Officer.....	Lieut.-Col. A. H. Macdonnell, D.S.O.
General Staff Officer.....	Lieut.-Col. G. C. W. Gordon-Hall.
General Staff Officer.....	Lieut.-Col. C. H. Mitchell.
General Staff Officer.....	Lieut.-Col. H. J. Lamb.
Assistant Quartermaster-General.....	Col. T. Birchall Wood, R.A.*
Commander Divisional Mounted Troops	Lieut.-Col. F. C. Jamieson.
Commander Divisional Artillery.....	Lieut.-Col. H. E. Burstall.
Commander Divisional Engineers.....	Lieut.-Col. C. J. Armstrong.
Commander 1st Artillery Brigade.....	Lieut.-Col. E. W. B. Morrison, D.S.O.
Commander 2nd Artillery Brigade.....	Lieut.-Col. J. J. Creelman.
Commander 3rd Artillery Brigade.....	Lieut.-Col. J. H. Mitchell.
Commander 1st Infantry Brigade.....	Lieut.-Col. M. S. Mercer.
Commander 2nd Infantry Brigade.....	Lieut.-Col. A. W. Currie.
Commander 3rd Infantry Brigade.....	Col. R. E. W. Turner, V.C., D.S.O.
Commander No. 1 Field Ambulance...	Lieut.-Col. A. E. Ross.
Commander No. 2 Field Ambulance...	Lieut.-Col. D. W. McPherson.
Commander No. 3 Field Ambulance...	Lieut.-Col. W. L. Watt.
Commander Royal Canadian Dragoons.	Lieut.-Col. C. M. Nelles.
Commander Lord Strathcona's Horse..	Lieut.-Col. A. H. Macdonnell, D.S.O.
Commander Royal Can. Horse Artillery	Lieut.-Col. H. A. Panet, D.S.O.
Commander 4th Infantry Brigade.....	Lieut.-Col. J. E. Cohoe.
Commander 1st Field Battery.....	Maj. C. H. L. Sharman.
Commander 2nd Field Battery.....	Lieut.-Col. C. H. MacLaren.
Commander 3rd Field Battery.....	Maj. R. H. Britton.
Commander 4th Field Battery.....	Maj. A. G. L. McNaughton.
Commander 5th Field Battery.....	Maj. E. G. Hanson.
Commander 6th Field Battery.....	Lieut.-Col. H. G. McLeod.
Commander 7th Field Battery.....	Maj. W. B. M. King.
Commander 8th Field Battery.....	Maj. H. G. Carscallon.
Commander 9th Field Battery.....	Maj. E. A. McDougall.
Commander Ammunition Column.....	Lieut.-Col. J. J. Penhale.
Commander Divisional Signal Column.	Maj. F. A. Lister.
Commander Divisional Train.....	Lieut.-Col. W. A. Simson.

Besides these Units there were the Automobile and Machine Gun Brigade, various Line of Communication

* These three officers were appointed in England by General Alderson. See pages 94–7 for Battalion Commanders.

Units, a Clearing Hospital, two Stationary Hospitals and two General Hospitals, a Remount Department under Lieut.-Col. W. Hendrie, etc. Many of the officers mentioned above were destined to write their names large in Canadian history; to fill an important place in the operations of the War as it was touched by an army of 100,000 splendid fighters in a great British force which was eventually to number 2,000,000 men; to receive every honour that a grateful imperial country could confer. After three months and more of final training in the preliminaries of war, of more or less drastic drilling and the endurance of unforeseen, unusual climatic conditions, of experiences in hospitality and friendship which many officers and men would cherish for a lifetime, Canada's 1st Division in the Great War left England for service at the front in February, 1915.

Meanwhile, however, a single Canadian Regiment — a veritable battalion of heroes — had been raised in Montreal, had passed through Valcartier, had received a hasty addition to its training in England and been rushed to France where its ensuing history was one long epic of endurance, gallantry and devotion. The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry was, in fact, the first fighting contribution of Canada to the World-War; it was practically disbanded by death after six months of strenuous struggle, though revived and re-organized under its historic name by the best blood of Canadian Universities; it commenced in France and Flanders the process of proving to the world that Canadians of English birth or Canadians born in Canada were of the same quality and fibre as British troops who had never before left the shores of England, Ireland or Scotland. Of these 1,100 men who left Canada for England in September, 1914, not more than ten per cent had been born in Canada but all were Canadian in spirit, and many in home ties, while holding fast to their love for the soil of Britain and the great traditions of their race. Most of them were veterans

of the South African and other wars and, to them, the new call of Empire and battle was instant and imperative. They had come from every part of Canada, they represented the very essence of courage, love of adventure, the spirit of war, the dash and acquired optimism of the Western prairie. Formed immediately after the declaration of war, on the initiative of A. Hamilton Gault, of Montreal, the Regiment was first commanded by Lieut.-Col. F. D. Farquhar, D.S.O., of the Coldstream Guards and Military Secretary to the Governor-General of Canada. Other officers, as originally gazetted, were as follows:

Second in Command — Major A. Hamilton Gault.
Adjutant — Capt. H. C. Buller.
Quartermaster — Hon.-Lieut. C. A. Wake.
Paymaster — Hon.-Capt. D. H. MacDougall.
Medical Officer — Major C. B. Keenan.

The Canadian forces were rapidly increased. On February 22, 1915, it was announced in the British Commons that a mixed Canadian Brigade composed of 2,000 Cavalry and including the Royal Horse Artillery, the Royal Canadian Dragoons, Strathcona's Horse and the 2nd King Edward's Light Horse, had been formed at Salisbury Plain in a supplementary capacity with Colonel the Rt. Hon. J. E. B. Seely, M.P., lately Secretary of State for War, as Brig.-General in command — on the recommendation of Sir John French under whom he had served in South Africa. Meanwhile the 2nd Canadian Division was on its way to England and arrived by installments during March, April, and May. It was in command of Major-Gen. S. B. Steele, C.B., M.V.O., who was afterwards succeeded by Brig.-Gen. R. E. W. Turner, V.C., C.B., D.S.O., upon the former's appointment to command the Shorncliffe Military District. As finally constituted the Infantry included the 4th Brigade, led by Brig.-Gen. Lord Brooke, the 5th Brigade led by Lieut.-Col. David Watson, and the 6th Brigade, led by Lieut.-Col. H. D. B. Ketchen. The 2nd Divisional Artillery

was commanded by Lieut.-Col. H. C. Thacker and the 2nd Divisional Engineers by Lieut.-Col. J. Houliston.

At this time and in succession to General Alderson, Brig.-Gen. J. C. MacDougall was in command of the Canadian forces in England with Col. W. R. Ward as Chief Paymaster; General Steele, in command of the Division, had as General Staff Officers Lieut.-Col. Garnet B. Hughes, of Victoria; Major J. L. R. Parsons, of Winnipeg, and Major C. A. Ker, D.S.O.; the Assistant-Adjutant and Q.M.G. was Lieut.-Col. P. E. Thacker, of Halifax, while Lieut.-Col. J. T. Fotheringham, M.D., was Assistant Director of Medical Services. There was also a Canadian Training Division. On September 2 the 2nd Division was reviewed by the King and shortly afterwards left for the front. During 1916 the Canadian troops in England varied greatly in numbers, were constantly under training, and acted as reserves to the main force of three Divisions, and eventually four, which went to the Front. Official figures of March 18 showed 60,000 troops in Belgium, 44,000 in Britain or on the way there, and 134,000 in Canada. Forces sent abroad from Canada up to December 31, 1916, were stated by Sir Robert Borden as totalling 280,562, of which 110,000 were in France (including some Hospital detachments in the Mediterranean) and 10,000 under orders to go there from England. The total number despatched Overseas during 1916 was 165,000 men; of those still in England were 3,998 men in Forestry work and Railway construction, 2,752 in the Pay and Record Offices, 1,497 in the Headquarters Staff, Veterinary, Postal and other services, 8,686 in the Medical Service, Ordinance stores and Army Service Corps — a total of 17,383. The casualties to date were 70,263. Meanwhile, a 5th Division under Maj.-Gen. Garnet Hughes was organized and held in reserve well into 1917 but was eventually broken up as necessary reinforcements.

In this connection an important matter was the payment of the heavy expenses involved in maintaining these forces in England and at the Front. In a cable of April 27, 1915, the Canadian Government had formally expressed its desire to bear the whole cost of the Canadian Contingents sent for service in the War. It was then agreed that those services in the field directed by the Imperial Government, and which could not be directly charged to the Dominion Government, should be afterwards adjusted at an estimated rate per head based on the average cost of maintaining troops in the field. The scope and amount of the rate to be fixed were discussed personally between Mr. Secretary Bonar Law, Sir George Perley (on behalf of the Canadian Government) and Sir Charles Harris (on behalf of the War Office), and a rate of 6s per head per diem arrived at. As the estimates were based on the assumption that the Dominion troops took the field fully equipped and, while there, were maintained from Imperial sources, it was stated (1) that the articles issued in the field to maintain or replace articles of original equipment would be the property of the Dominion Government at the end of the War, (2) that it would be open to the Dominion Government to raise a counter-claim against the Imperial Government for any rifles or other articles covered by the rate and which might have been issued in the field out of Canadian stocks. Australia and New Zealand took the same course and Sir Robert Borden in the Commons on February 1, 1917, gave a statement in this regard which may be summarized briefly:

1. The expenses borne in the first instance by the Imperial Government for Canadian troops in England (rations, forage, clothing, stores, etc.) are recovered currently through the ordinary medium of accounts.

2. As to expenses in the field it is not practicable to keep account of actual issues and it is the intention of the Imperial Government (subject

to the concurrence of the Dominion Government) that payment should take some simple form such as an estimated rate per head.

3. There are no accounts which show the cost of supplies and services to Canadian troops in France and the figures can only be arrived at by estimate. That of April, 1916, was 6s per day per man and is considered reasonable.

The advances by the Imperial Government for the maintenance of troops, etc., totalled during the War $609,000,000, but it was exceeded by the credits established in Canada ($709,000,000) for British purchases of munitions and supplies. To control all these matters of Canadian war interest in England—and associated conditions in France—required a large and effective organization. During all these years of war Sir George H. Perley was acting High Commissioner for Canada in England and eventually was induced to accept the position in a regular and remunerated way—having refused payment for his services in the earlier years. It was, however, a divided control between Sir George and the Minister of Militia at Ottawa with a not always satisfactory condition during the *régime* of General Hughes. The oversight of Canadian troops and their training in England, the care and welfare of Canadian troops in France, the oversight of expenditures running into the hundreds of millions, the charge of Medical services and wounded and Hospitals abroad, the obtaining of Munition and other contracts for Canada, the Army supply contracts, and a myriad other elements of military activity and organization in England made up a sufficiently complex system without any complication such as division in control. By the close of 1916, however, matters had sifted down and Sir George Perley had accepted (October 31) the post of Minister of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada with enlarged powers and a Military Council composed of Brig.-Gen. P. E. Thacker, C.M.G., as Adjutant General, Brig.-Gen. A. D. McRae as Acting Quartermaster and Chief

Executive Officer, and Maj.-Gen. R. E. W. Turner as Commander of the Canadian troops in England.

In the middle of 1917 a further re-organization took place and Canadian military affairs in England were divided into four branches: (1) that of the Military Secretary in charge of Major F. F. Montague; (2) that of the General Staff in charge of Lieut.-Col. H. F. McDonald, C.M.G., D.S.O.; (3) that of the Adjutant-General, in charge of Brig.-Gen. P. E. Thacker, C.B., C.M.G.; that of the Quarter-master General in charge of Brig.-Gen. A. D. McRae, C.B. Maj.-General J. W. Carson had early in the year retired from his position as Special Agent of the Dominion Minister of Militia. In May, 1918, a Canadian Headquarters Staff in England was created with Lieut.-General Sir R. E. W. Turner as Chief of Staff. Shortly before this Sir Edward Kemp had retired from the Ministry of Militia at Ottawa in which he had succeeded Sir Sam Hughes — and relieved the High Commissioner of the military side of his duties as Overseas Minister. During all this period Sir George Perley had been greatly aided by Sir Max Aitken, M.P., as Records Officer and Eye-Witness at the front. It was a work carried on side by side with multifarious other duties which helped to raise that astute and really brilliant young Canadian to the Peerage as Lord Beaverbrook and to make him a power in British politics and, finally, a member of Mr. Lloyd George's Government.

In these years there had been some inevitable friction between a Minister of Sir Sam Hughes' temperament and the War officials in England. Some Canadian equipment was, undoubtedly, "scrapped" as not harmonizing with a uniformity considered absolutely essential in such huge army movements and requirements as were involved; trouble was inevitable over supplies such as boots or rifles prepared amidst the rush and inexperience of a young country in its first great war. The Canadian soldiers, however,

received every care that could be given under difficult conditions and, when on leave, the hospitality in England was almost too generous. Wet canteens were an immemorial privilege of the British soldier and they were continued to the Canadian troops, but the distribution of liquor was limited and guarded and was chiefly beer; in the trenches, amid conditions of serious wet and dampness, something stronger was considered as important as food or medicine. At Bramshott and Shorncliffe not only was the Y. M. C. A. conspicuous in its work but English religious interests provided fully for this side of camp life with all kinds of concerts and services. A small army of 150 Canadian Chaplains, representing every denomination and including Jews and the Salvation Army, were in attendance in England, or at the Front, with Colonel the Rev. R. H. Steacey in charge.

As to training, a great deal was needed. In this terrific struggle one of the distinct essentials was found to be discipline; some of the worst British disasters of the War and some Canadian losses were due to failure in obeying orders. Coolness, courage, success, were all dependent upon discipline and too many Canadians at first were filled with the idea that courtesy meant servility, that obedience was not quite manly. Delays in sending Canadian troops to the Front were due very often to the long course of training required — as, for instance, in the matter of carelessness in trenches, which caused many a Canadian death in the first months at the Front. Another subject not understood in Canada was that of surplus officers. During many months, whenever wastage in France required reinforcement — as at the Somme, where on one occasion 19,000 men were called for in a hurry — the best trained men in the Reserve battalions were sent forward and the officers of higher rank were, in most cases, not required. There was, therefore, an accumulation of these officers in England

which really became a problem. Many of them were too old to revert to the rank of Lieutenant or to go as privates, or else could not afford to do so; in one case 80 did go forward as supernumerary lieutenants with no real duties and they joined the men in a certain trench attack. According to the story all but 20 were casualties.*

During these years the Canadian Hospitals in England and at the Front were many and they did a great work with the small beginning of 10,000 beds at the close of 1915. There was a period during which matters of management in England and the work of the Army Medical Corps were in a state of flux and criticism very freely expressed. But, before and after, and even during that period, there was absolute truth in the statement (April, 1916) by Major F. McKelvey Bell, of the No. 2 Hospital in France, that: "The medical equipment and *personnel* of the Canadian Hospitals is of a type and quality that is a matter of pride to all Canadians. The chain or organization is so perfect that there is not a single break in its continuity from the farthest point in the firing-line, through France and England, and even back to Canada. The soldier is treated throughout, not as a public care, but as the private patient of the Dominion."

From the first, however, there had been discussion between those who wanted to keep Canadians in the Canadian hospitals and those who desired to allocate the wounded Canadians wherever it was most convenient to the British authorities — to make the hospitals general to all. To some extent this latter policy was inevitable in times of stress but, otherwise, the Canadian officials preferred concentration as being the cheapest and most convenient system. They desired, as far as possible, to keep the units of their forces — the unfit, the sick and the wounded — under observation and control; within easy reach of the Medical, Record, Pay and other departments, in close touch

* Lieut.-Col. J. D. Taylor, M.P., Commons, February 6, 1917.

with their own comrades, whether sick or well, and within reach of the flow of presents and comforts from Canada. On the other hand many soldiers returning to Canada spoke of the splendid way they were treated in English hospitals, and afterwards in their convalescent stages, and of the interest attached to meeting men from all parts of the Empire. Sir Sam Hughes however, with his well-known prejudices against the British War Office and V. A. D. Nurses, etc., wanted the men altogether, segregated under Canadian roofs and control, directly in the care of the Canadian Army Medical Corps; by 1916 other matters had developed and conditions appeared to indicate the need of inquiry and some re-organization of the bases of management in the Canadian hospitals.

In order to look into the situation and inspect all Canadian hospitals and medical institutions in England, "to which the Canadian Government in any way contributes", Colonel H. A. Bruce, M.D., of Toronto, was appointed (July 31) as Special Inspector-General of Medical Services; with him, as a Committee of Inquiry, were also appointed Colonel F. A. Reid, Colonel Wallace Scott, Lieut.-Col. Walter McKeown, Lieut.-Col. F. W. E. Wilson and Captain Charles Hunter — the four latter being well-known Canadian physicians or surgeons. When finally submitted to the Government and made public on October 15, after an investigation lasting until September 26, the Report of Colonel Bruce and his colleagues was unanimous and elaborate and proved to be a serious reflection upon the medical administration of the Canadian forces. The following extract indicates the charges made: "The Medical Board department practically runs itself; there is no central control, no uniformity of standard among the different boards, no supply of an adequately permanent and efficient *personnel* for medical boards, no records of a satisfactory nature available regarding very many casualties, no instructions regard-

ing pensions." Lack of co-ordination, the need of concentration for hospitals and patients and nurses and medical attendance were the main points at issue.

The Report created a sensation in Medical and Political circles and caused rumours of the resignation and return to Canada of Surg.-General G. Carleton Jones, who was in charge; it was obviously approved by Sir S. Hughes in a speech at Toronto; it was apparently disapproved by the Canadian Premier, who instructed General Jones to remain in England, and by Sir George Perley, whose War Contingent Hospital at Beachborough came under the V. A. D. censure of the Committee; Sir William Osler and others contended in England that General Jones had not been heard and that he should have been a member of the Bruce Board of Inquiry. The latter replied to the charges in an elaborate document which, however, had no publicity in Canada. On November 25 the War Office, apparently at the request of Sir George Perley as Minister of Overseas Services, appointed a Board of Inquiry to investigate the conditions and to deal with the Bruce Report and the General's reply. The members were as follows: Surg.-Gen. Sir William Baptie, Director of Medical Services at the War Office; Colonel E. C. Ashton, M.D., in command Shorncliffe Division; Colonel J. T. Fotheringham, M.D., Assistant Medical Director, 2nd Canadian Division at the Front; Colonel A. E. Ross, C.M.G., M.D., Assistant Medical Director, 1st Canadian Division; Lieut.-Col. J. M. Elder, M.D., of No. 3 General Hospital, Boulogne.

At the close of the year this new Report was made public after the evidence of both Dr. Bruce and Surgeon-General Jones had been taken at great length, as well as that of a number of prominent officials of the War Office and the Hospitals. Its conclusions were not altogether conclusive. In many points it partly agreed with Dr. Bruce, and partly disagreed; its tendency was to describe his criticisms as too strong or sweeping. In general it was said that (1)

Colonel Bruce was sometimes misled by a lack of intimate knowledge of army organization or the inter-relation of various branches of the Service; that (2) large numbers of men had been passed by Medical officers who were unfit, owing to age or physical disability, and that this condition still continued; that (3) such arguments as Colonel Bruce adduced for segregation might be met by an extension of the system of Canadian convalescent hospitals and organized co-operation as to inspection between the Canadian and Imperial services; that (4) the Board failed to discover any general sentiment amongst Canadian troops in hospital favourable to segregation which, incidentally, would involve Canadian accommodation for 9,000 more patients — apart from large battle casualties; that (5) additional inspection of all hospitals was desirable, that the Canadian staffs in the Shorncliffe V. A. D. group were too large, and that Surgeon-General Jones had allowed glaring departures from accepted Service methods at certain Canadian hospitals to pass unnoticed.

In succeeding years and under re-organization plans the segregation proposals were partly carried out despite vigourous protests from Lady Drummond of the Canadian Red Cross in England, Mrs. A. E. Gooderham of the Imperial Daughters of the Empire in Canada and many others. It may be added that during the War 1,617 Medical officers, 2,002 Nursing Sisters and 12,382 other ranks of the C. A. M. C. went overseas from Canada; that there were at the end of the War 31 Canadian hospitals and field ambulances in France and 20 such hospitals in England; that in Canada there were 65 military hospitals for returning soldiers with 11,786 beds available; that by the close of 1918 over 22,000 invalided men had been brought back to Canada. The following is an official list of the chief Canadian Expeditionary Force Hospitals in England and France, with the exception of one opened in France during June, 1918, at Joinville Le Point:

CANADIAN GENERAL HOSPITALS

Hospital	Location	Officer Commanding
No. 1 General Hospital...	France.....	Lieut.-Col. J. G. Gunn.
No. 2 General Hospital...	France.....	Col. G. S. Rennie.
No. 3 General Hospital...	France.....	Col. H. S. Birkett, C.M.G.
No. 4 General Hospital...	Basingstoke.....	Lieut.-Col. W. H. Hendry.
No. 5 General Hospital...	Liverpool.....	Lieut.-Col. J. L. Biggar.
No. 6 General Hospital...	France.....	Col. G. E. Beauchamp.
No. 7 General Hospital...	France.....	Col. F. Etherington.
No. 8 General Hospital...	France.....	Lieut.-Col. H. R. Casgrain.
No. 9 General Hospital...	Shorncliffe.....	Lieut.-Col. E. G. D. Davis.
No. 10 General Hospital...	Brighton.....	Col. W. McKeown.
No. 11 General Hospital...	Shorncliffe.....	Lieut.-Col. W. A. Scott.
No. 12 General Hospital...	Bramshott.....	Lieut.-Col. H. E. Kendell.
No. 13 General Hospital...	Hastings.....	Lieut.-Col. J. E. Williams, D.S.O.
No. 14 General Hospital...	Eastbourne.....	Lieut.-Col. E. Seaborn.
No. 15 General Hospital...	Taplow.....	Lieut.-Col. W. L. Watt.
No. 16 General Hospital...	Orpington.....	Lieut.-Col. D. A. McPherson.

CANADIAN CONVALESCENT HOSPITALS

Bearwood.....	Wokingham.....	Maj. R. E. Woodhouse.
Bromley.....	Bromley.....	Lieut.-Col. J. R. Speir.
Hillingdon House	Uxbridge.....	Lieut.-Col. J. A. Sponagle.
I. O. D. E. and Perkins Bull.	London.....	Lieut.-Col. H. M. Robertson.
King's Canadian	Bushey Park	Lieut.-Col. J. D. McQueen.
Monk's Horton	Monk's Horton ..	Lieut.-Col. Geo. Clingham.
Woodcote Park	Epsom.....	Lieut.-Col. L. E. W. Irving, D.S.O.

CANADIAN SPECIAL HOSPITALS

Canadian Red Cross.....	Buxton.....	Lieut.-Col. F. Guest.
Etchinghill.....	Etchinghill.....	Lieut.-Col. W. F. M. McKinnon.
Granville Special	Buxton.....	Lieut.-Col. J. S. Clark.
West Cliff Eye and Ear.....	West Cliff	Lieut.-Col. S. H. McKee, C.M.G.
Witley Camp	Witley Camp	Maj. L. C. Harris.
Lenham.....	Lenham.....	Lieut.-Col. W. M. Hart.
Officers' Hospital	Broadstairs.....	Lieut.-Col. C. H. Gilmour.

CANADIAN STATIONARY HOSPITALS

No. 1 Stationary Hospital..	France.....	Colonel H. C. S. Elliot.
No. 2 Stationary Hospital..	France.....	Lieut.-Col. A. G. Farmer.
No. 3 Stationary Hospital..	France.....	Lieut.-Col. C. H. Reason.
No. 4 Stationary Hospital..	France.....	Lieut.-Col. S. W. Prowse.

A word must be said here as to the unselfish, continuous, and earnest war-work of hundreds and eventually thousands of Canadian women in England. As an organization the chief factor was the Canadian War Contingent Association of which Sir George Perley was President and J. G. Colmer, C.M.G., Hon. Secretary, with Lady Perley and Mrs. McLaren Brown as President and Secretary respectively,

of the Ladies' Committee. Lady Strathcona, Lady Kirkpatrick, Mrs. L. S. Amery, Mrs. Donald Armour, Mrs. Franklin Jones, Mrs. Haydn Horsey, Mrs. Grant Morden, Mrs. P. Pelletier and Lady Drummond were amongst the active members of this Committee. The supply of a steady stream of comforts to the soldiers was its central object—with toilet articles and food such as hard candy, tinned and dried fruits, chewing gum, lime-juice, curry powder, etc., tobacco, pipes, cigarettes, games, matches, books, magazines, pencils, mouth organs, etc., as the chief needs. There was a Dominion Branch at Halifax to supervise shipping from Canada. The Association also maintained in England the Queen's Canadian Military Hospital at Beachborough Park, Shorncliffe, and to this institution the women interested gave splendid service.

Miss Mary Plummer and Miss Joan Arnoldi, two Toronto ladies, had in 1914 been appointed Field Commissioners with the 1st Contingent at Valcartier and, early in 1915, formed an organization called the Canadian Field Comforts Commission with headquarters at Ashford, Kent, and an agency at Halifax, N. S. They received official recognition at Ottawa and London, held the Hon. rank of Lieutenants and supervised the distribution of many comforts from Canada for Salisbury Plain or at the Front. Lady Drummond of Montreal, but resident in London, was unceasing in her efforts for the soldiers with her whole time devoted to sympathetic attention to their needs. Much was done by her for the Red Cross and from time to time she made vigourous appeals for funds to advance such objects as the organization of Maple Leaf Clubs for soldiers on leave and easily raised the required amounts. The Information Bureau of the Canadian Red Cross was formed by Lady Drummond and continued under her active supervision as one of the most valued of helpful institutions for the Canadian soldier in London.

There was women's work in every direction. At the headquarters of the C. A. M. C. there were lady drivers headed, in length of service, by Miss Gordon Brown, a niece of Colonel Sir A. P. Sherwood of Ottawa; in France there were many Red Cross Canadian girls and women taking men's places as drivers of Motor Ambulances and carrying wounded men from the ambulance trains to the hospitals, helping also with supplies and work of many kinds; throughout France, also, were many Canadian V. A. D. nurses and helpers, in every stage of suffering, for the wounded and in every form of kindly entertainment, amusement and comfort for the soldier on leave or resting in the C. R. C. Huts behind the Front. At this point, also, there must be mentioned the British women whose work for Canadians Lady Drummond recorded in a December, 1917, letter to *The Times:* "In closing I would say a word of grateful, heartfelt thanks, as a Canadian woman, to the women of this country for the 'perfect mothering' which they have given to our men from Overseas."

There was another side of the shield, however, in the presence in England, during these War years of an army of Canadian women — soldiers' wives or dependents in the main, but many, also, who had drifted to England, in one of the curious contrasts of wartime, for social reasons, for pleasure, for curiosity or similar motives. Of the large total, a proportion were unable or unwilling to do war-work, to do work of any kind which would be helpful to the community, and became additional burdens upon the financial and food resources of a greatly-burdened country. Every effort to sift them out was made by Canadian authorities, some were brought home and no more were allowed to go from Canada; but ships were scarce and difficulties many. At the date of the Armistice 22,000 women and children had been brought back but 50,000 were still there.

A special soldier problem which developed during 1916–18 was the alleged immoral condition of the troops in

England. It was, however, far more of a problem in Canada than in Camp and was especially debated in women's organizations at home by social reform bodies. Much of the talk, some of the Resolutions passed, many of the speeches in Canada were very wide of the mark. War psychology always breeds an infinite brood of rumours, and includes depressed views of social and public conditions, with an almost morbid willingness to believe the worst. This moral issue also furnished a ready field for exaggeration in the interest of Prohibition advocacy. At the Ontario Prohibition Convention of March 8, 1917, statements absolutely vitriolic in character were made, the British Government was freely condemned, with little visible reason or proof, for conditions guessed at, or rumoured, or asserted in private correspondence, and more than one woman urged that no more men be allowed to go across. The Rev. E. Tennyson Smith, a veteran English reformer, protested strongly: "To suggest for one moment that the British Government connives at the existence of immoral conditions is absolutely untrue and unfair. Your boys will have no greater temptation, or even as great temptation, in England as here, for anything worse than the streets of Montreal I have never known. It is entirely untrue that the British Government permits or even winks at immorality." On motion of Mrs. Thornley of the W. C. T. U. a Resolution was passed declaring that the Convention "views with extreme regret and genuine concern the use of the wet canteen, the rum ration and the permission (afterwards changed to "existence") of conditions concerning social vice with the gravest possible effect."

As to alleged drinking or encouragement to drink given in England, Sir Robert Borden in the Commons on May 18, 1917, after referring to the kind, hospitable and generous treatment of Canadian troops by the British people and submitting reports from Generals Turner and Steele of Canada and General Child of the War Office, added: "It

is enough to say that these reports indicate that all such representations are almost absolutely without foundation. The Canadian troops are not addicted to the habit of drunkenness . . . when troops go to the canteen they are necessarily under discipline and supervision. If there is no wet canteen, and men go out to the public-houses — and you cannot very well prevent them — they are not under the same discipline or supervision." On July 6 English papers announced that Mr. Lloyd George had received a protest from the Ontario Presbyterian Women's Missionary Society, making grave charges against the British Government because Prohibition had not been adopted there, and alleging that Canadian soldiers in England were being ruined, body and soul, by drink and disease!

This was characterized freely by Canadian chaplains and officers on the spot as a gross and libelous exaggeration; it was stated officially that the British convictions for drunkenness and other offences in the London area averaged one-fifth of the pre-war period and that protests from workmen and others as to the increasing shortage of beer were becoming peremptory. The Rev. Dr. S. D. Chown was explicit as to this problem in a statement to the Social Service Conference on September 13: "There is no question that the reports circulated in Canada as to social disease and drunkenness among the men Overseas are not well founded. The stamina of the men is splendid. Convictions and arrests for drunkenness among the Canadian soldiers are less than among a similar body of civilians. The Canadian troops Overseas show absolutely no sign of deterioration." At the same time he definitely condemned the existence of temptations greater than the men should be called upon to meet.

A word must be said as to the Canadian Khaki University established in England late in 1918. Educational work had long been carried on by British authorities in the

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

A Few of the Machine Guns Captured at Vimy Ridge by the Canadians

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadians Who Have Stopped the Germans, Even Reaching Their Wire During His Attacks, Taking Free Coffee at a Y. M. C. A. Hut on Their Way Back From The Line to Rest

British Army but not along the lines finally worked out by the Canadian staff, the Y. M. C. A., and others, with President H. M. Tory of the University of Alberta in charge. The object was to take advantage of every spare moment amongst the troops training in England or on active service at the Front to instruct the individual soldier in some line of study or occupation which he would like to continue when the War was over — by means of (1) an organized course of lectures, (2) the promotion of small study groups, (3) the arrangement of reading groups in billets or tents and (4) the development of a library system. During the year formal relations were established with University College, London, and in October the institution was placed on an official basis as a permanent element in repatriation as well as war and with a Director of Education attached to the Canadian Overseas Ministry. Between its initiation in October, 1917, and the close of the War 12,000 students registered and the attendance at lectures totalled over 20,000. At the Front the institution was organized and largely patronized. Interesting incidents in connection with the Canadians and war-life in England was the visit in 1918 of a large Canadian Press Delegation which was lavishly entertained and given every advantage in seeing war as it really was in France and Belgium. The Ontario Maple Leaf Clubs initiated and controlled by the Hearst Government of Ontario — as with the splendid Hospital at Orpington, England — was a feature of Canadian work which must be mentioned. During the first years of the War Colonel (afterwards Maj.-Gen. Sir) J. W. Carson was the special representative and Agent of the Canadian Minister of Militia in England. Under Sir Sam. Hughes he had wide powers and they were exercised in respect to appointments at the Front in the Canadian Forces as well as in the hostile troops in England. This fact, in addition to his opinion of the Ross Rifle, was said to be a cause of the retirement of General Alderson; General Byng would

have no interference with his appointments and promotions. It may be added that the chief Canadian Army officers in England during 1918 and at the close of the War were as follows:

Chief of the General Staff — Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. E. W. Turner, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.
General Staff Officer — Brig.-Gen. H. F. McDonald, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Adjutant-General — Brig.-Gen. P. E. Thacker, C.B., C.M.G.
Quartermaster-General — Brig.-Gen. D. M. Hogarth, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Director-General of Medical Services — Maj.-Gen. G. La F. Foster, C.B.
Director-General of Timber Operations — Brig.-Gen. Alex McDougal, C.B.
Paymaster-General — Brig.-Gen. D. M. Ross, C.M.G.
Headquarters, Borden — Brig.-Gen. C. H. McLaren, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Headquarters, Bramshott — G. O. C.: Brig.-Gen. R. Rennie, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Headquarters, Seaford — G. O. C.: Brig.-Gen. H. M. Dyer, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Headquarters, Witley — G. O. C.: Brig.-Gen. F. W. Hill, C.M.G., D.S.O.

CHAPTER VII

CANADIANS AT THE FRONT IN 1915

The Princess Patricia's Light Infantry Regiment was the first Canadian organized force to share actively in the conflicts of the Western front. Called after, aided by, and watched over with personal interest by Her Royal Highness, it was a battalion worthy of the best and highest traditions of British military history; more could hardly be said of it. The original Commander, Col. F. D. Farquhar, D.S.O., was a British officer on the Governor-General's Staff at Ottawa, who fell early in the fighting; he was succeeded in after months and years by eight other officers; amongst the original officers who left for France with the Battalion on December 20, 1914, were Agar Adamson, Talbot Papineau, J. W. H. McKinnery, M. S. De Bay, W. G. Colquhoun, D. O. C. Newton, H. W. Niven and many more who became in most cases marked men, with varied honours and brilliant records; every man of the Regiment was in fact a hero in his own person.

At the Front, it was swiftly turned into a body of seasoned soldiers. The Regiment at first formed part of the 27th Division, mainly composed of troops from India, and under command of General Shaw. It was in the trenches by January 6, 1915, and there followed a series of hotly contested raids and battles, during this early and most trying period of the War, in which the Regiment won an ever-increasing reputation. St. Eloi and other difficult points in the Ypres salient were then the scenes of incessant struggle and by May 7 the fighting strength of the Battalion was reduced to 635; on the 8th one of the most desperate fights in the second Battle of Ypres left 150 men under

command of a Lieutenant (H. W. Niven) with only one other officer unwounded. It has been described as follows:*

"The day that followed was at once the most critical and the most costly in the history of the Battalion. Early in the morning particularly heavy shelling began to fall. At the same time a number of Germans were observed coming at the double from the hill in front of the trench. This movement was arrested by a heavy rifle fire. By 6 a. m. every telephone wire, both to the Brigade Headquarters and also to the trenches, had been cut. Every single Canadian upon the strength was from that time forward in one or other of the trenches. A short and fierce struggle decided the issue for the time being. The advance of the Germans was checked, and those of the enemy who were not either sheltered by buildings, dead or wounded, crawled back over the crest of the ridge to their own trenches. By this time the enemy had two, and perhaps three, machine-guns in an adjacent building, and were sweeping the parapets of both the fire and support trenches.

"About 7 a. m. Major Gault, who had sustained his men by his coolness and example, was severely hit by a shell in the left arm and thigh. It was impossible to move him, and he lay in the trench, as did many of his wounded companions, in great anguish but without a murmur for over ten hours. The command was taken over by Lieut. H. W. Niven, the next senior officer who was still unwounded. Heavy howitzers using high explosives, combined with field-guns, from this moment, in a most trying bombardment both on the fire and support trenches. The fire trench on the right was blown to pieces at several points. At 9 o'clock the shelling decreased in intensity; but it was the lull before the storm, for the enemy immediately attempted a second infantry advance. This attack was received with undiminished resolution. A storm of machine-gun and rifle fire checked the assailants, who were forced, after a few

* Description by Lord Beaverbrook, then Official Eye-Witness at the Front.

indecisive moments, to retire and take cover. The Battalion accounted for large numbers of the enemy in the course of this attack, but it suffered seriously itself.

"At half-past nine, Lieut. Niven established contact with the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry on the left, and with the 4th Rifle Brigade on the right. Both were suffering heavy casualties from enfilade fire; and neither, of course, could afford any assistance. At this time the bombardment recommenced with great intensity. The range of our machine-guns was taken with extreme precision. All, without exception, were buried. Those who served them behaved with the most admirable coolness and gallantry. Two guns were dug out, mounted and used again. One was actually disinterred three times and kept in action till a shell annihilated the whole section. . . . By 12 a. m. the supply of small arms ammunition badly needed replenishment. From 12 a. m. to 1.30 p. m. the Battalion held on under the most desperate difficulties until a detachment of the 4th Rifle Brigade was sent up in reinforcement. At 3 p. m. a detachment of the 2nd King's Shropshire Light Infantry reached the support line with 20 boxes of small arms ammunition. These were distributed, and the party bringing them came into line as a reinforcement, occupying the left end of the support trench. The afternoon dragged on, the tale of casualties constantly growing; and at ten o'clock at night, the Company commanders being all dead or wounded, Lieutenants Niven and Papineau took a roll-call. It disclosed a strength of 150 rifles and some stretcher-bearers. At 11.30 at night the Battalion was relieved by the 3rd King's Royal Rifle Corps."

The Battalion was then rested and re-organized and more than once afterwards was again almost decimated; the original survivors in 1918, after it had seen service in all quarters of the British lines and finally been absorbed into the Canadian forces, numbered a couple of dozen; its name

ranked by that time amongst the great British Regiments of the War — using the word British in its widest sense. It is interesting to note the names and following facts as to those who commanded this historic Battalion:

	Honors and Awards	Date Appointed	Vacated
Lt.-Col. F. D. Farquhar	D.S.O.	22–9–14	21–3–15
Lt.-Col. H. C. Buller	.....	21–3–15	5–5–15
Major R. T. Pelly	D.S.O.	15–5–15	7–12–15
Lt.-Col. H. C. Buller	D.S.O.	7–12–15	6–16
Major A. A. M. Adamson	D.S.O.	17–6–16	3–8–16
Lt.-Col. R. T. Pelly	D.S.O.	31–10–16	27–3–18
Lt.-Col. A. A. M. Adamson	D.S.O.	9–9–17	10–10–17
Major C. J. T. Stewart	D.S.O.	27–3–18	End of War

A month or so after the appearance of the "Princess Pats" at the front Canada's first army Division appeared on the scene. The Prime Minister told Parliament at Ottawa on February 16 that he had received a despatch from the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Harcourt) stating that the whole of the Canadian contingent had crossed safely and were in France. When the trenches were reached the British forces were found to occupy lines between 20 and 30 miles in length, which ran from Ypres on the north to Givenchy on the south and had been held since — in the first Battle of the Aisne — British troops had moved thence to Flanders in the hope of outflanking the enemy. It did not take very long for the Canadians to get their bearings, though many discomforts had to be endured of which the worst came from spring rains and flooded trenches alternating with cold spells, relieved, however, by bits of beautiful French weather which, naturally, were not enjoyed to the full. The troops were fortunate in having as commander Lieut.-Gen. E. A. H. Alderson, whom they had learned at Salisbury to like and to respect; whose orders they now learned to follow in battle with faith and courage. They never forgot the closing words of an address which he gave them before entering the trenches early in March.

After words of warning and advice he added a reference to his own former Regiment, of whom it had been said "the West Kents never budge", and declared it a good omen: "I will now belong to you and you to me; and before long the Army will say: 'The Canadians never budge.' "

The Brigades were under command of (1) Brig.-Gen. M. S. Mercer, (2) Brig.-Gen. A. W. Currie, (3) Brig.-Gen. R. E. W. Turner, V.C., D.S.O., and (Artillery) Brig.-Gen. H. E. Burstall. Though the Canadians took no part in the advance to Neuve Chapelle, which won a partial success for the British Army and lost the chances of a great victory, they were severely tested; despite the stories in the Canadian press of charges made and glory won in the conflict, what they really did was to withstand German pressure, face heavy fire from German guns, and silently hold their trenches while a great battle was going on all around them. It was important work, it was a test of efficiency, but it was not St. Julien or Festubert. The Canadian Artillery also played its part well. Then came the second battle of Ypres — a determined, prolonged effort of the Germans to get through the Allied lines to Calais — which lasted from April 22 to May 13, when the Festubert struggle commenced. Like the first battle of this name and location and object, which lasted from October 20 to November 11, 1914, it was vital to the success or failure of the German plans; it was fought with German precision, thoroughness and courage; it included German superiority in numbers and artillery. Unlike the first contest, however, it brought into action the new, unexpected and barbarous use of poisonous gasses by the Germans. The Canadians shared actively and greatly in the first six days of the far-flung struggle, the name of their corner of the battle-field was derived from one or other of two areas called, respectively, St. Julien and Langemarck; their lines covered, roughly, 5,000 yards extending from the Ypres-Roulers Railway to the Ypres-Poelcappelle road, and were connected at one

terminus with French troops and at the other with the British Army; their force comprised the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Canadian Brigades of which the two latter had only taken over their line of trenches from the French on April 17.

The importance of the point held by the Canadians was that it lay directly in front of a possible line of German advance on Calais; had the enemy broken through the Canadian force, as well as the neighbouring French lines, they would probably have got to the Coast with all the tremendous consequences to England, as well as France, which that involved. Moreover, it was a flat country and difficult to hold. The day of April 22 was warm and sunny and only the occasional bombardment of stricken Ypres marked the scene until, suddenly, at 5 p. m., the Germans launched a carefully-prepared projection of great masses of asphyxiating gas in front of the French troops to the left of the Canadian Division. The French at this point were largely made up of Turcos and Zouaves; the gas fumes were so poisonous in effect, so sudden in their coming, so horrible in the suffering caused, so unknown to all war experience, that the French naturally, inevitably, surged back out of their trenches and the first knowledge that the amazed Canadian troops had of their own participation in one of the great battles of history was seeing the anguished, distorted faces of retreating troops as they gasped for breath and vainly sought relief from their sufferings.

The result of this retreat was that the 3rd Canadian Brigade was left dangling in the air at one end, with an advancing German army of about 150,000 men, backed by immensely heavy artillery, pouring into the space vacated by the French, covered by their poisonous gasses, and with the road to Ypres apparently open to the onslaught. To the right of the 3rd Canadian Brigade was the 2nd and some distance behind, in reserve, was the 1st Brigade. The 3rd Brigade, under General Turner, at once drew its line down and back toward St. Julien and Ypres and bore the

brunt of the ensuing German advance. It would take many pages to describe the succeeding conflict and the manipulation and movements of the Canadian Brigades until eventually, with such British support as could be rushed up, the gap was closed. There were charges and counter-charges, advances and retreats in the first two vital days, followed by other days of bitter, ceaseless fighting; the heroism of every individual soldier concerned was notable, at times Homeric; the heavy casualties, and deaths of Major E. C. Norsworthy, Capt. Herrick McGregor, Capt. Guy Drummond, Lieut.-Colonels Hart McHarg, R. L. Boyle and A. P. Birchall and many other gallant officers and men, were features of the conflict; the final withdrawal of the Division for rest and re-organization after a week of fighting such as had rarely before fallen even to British troops took place on May 3–5. The casualties officially reported on May 3 were 705 killed, 2,162 wounded and 2,536 missing — the latter mostly prisoners. Final figures ran up to 6,000. For a more detailed record of this memorable Canadian victory the account given by John Buchan in Nelson's *History of the War* (Vol. VI) may be accepted and quoted here in part:*

"Attempts were made to rally the fleeing Turcos, and Capt. Guy Drummond of the Royal Highlanders, a gallant and popular officer, fell heroically in this task. During the pressure of an attack by four Divisions the 3rd Brigade bent inwards from a point just south of Poelcapelle till its left rested on a wood east of St. Julien, between the Langemarck and Poelcapelle roads. Beyond it there was still a gap, and the Germans were working around its flank. The whole 1st Canadian Brigade was in reserve, and it was impossible to use it at a moment's notice. Two Battalions, the 10th and 16th, were in the Brigade reserve of the 2nd

* By kind permission of Thomas Nelson & Sons, Edinburgh, London, New York and Toronto.

and 3rd, and these were brought forward by midnight and flung into the breach.

"A battery of 4.7 guns lent by the 2nd London Division to support the French, was in the wood east of St. Julien. The gun teams were miles away. That wood has no name, but it deserves to be christened by the name of the troops who died in it. For through it the 10th Battalion under Colonel R. L. Boyle and the 16th under Colonel R. G. E. Leckie, charged at midnight, and won the northern fringe. They re-captured the guns, but could not bring them away; but they destroyed part of them before they fell again into German hands, when the line was forced back by artillery fire. Another counter-attack was attempted to ease the strain. Two Battalions of General Mercer's 1st Brigade — the 1st and 4th Ontario — charged the German position in the gap. Colonel Birchall of the 4th was killed while leading his men, and his death fired the battalion to a splendid effort. They carried the first German shelter trenches and held them till relief came two days later.

"A wilder battle has rarely been witnessed than the struggle of that April night. The British reserves at Ypres, shelled out of the town, marched to the sound of the firing, with the strange sickly odour of the gas blowing down upon them. The roads were congested with the nightly supply trains for our troops in the Salient. All along our front the cannonade was severe, while the Canadian left, bent back almost at right angles, was struggling to entrench itself under cover of counter-attacks. In some cases they found French reserve trenches to occupy, but more often they had to dig themselves in where they were allowed. The right of the German assault was beyond the Yser Canal in several places, and bearing hard on the French remnants on the eastern bank. All was confusion, for no Staff work was possible. To their eternal honour the 3rd Canadian Brigade did not break. Overwhelmed with superior numbers of men and guns, and sick to death

with the poison fumes, they did all that men could do to stem the tide. The 15th Battalion (48th Highlanders) who bore the brunt of the gas recovered themselves after the first retreat, and regained their position. The 13th Battalion (Royal Highlanders) did not give ground at all. Major E. C. Norsworthy, though badly wounded, rallied his men, till he got his death wound. Very early in the small hours of Friday morning (April 23) the first British reinforcements arrived in the gap. They came mostly from the 28th Division. . . . Five Battalions, under the command of Colonel Geddes of the Buffs took up position in the gap, and acted along with the 10th and 16th Canadians, who had conducted the first counter-attack. This force varied from day to day — almost from hour to hour — in composition, and for convenience we may refer to it as Geddes's Detachment.

"On the morning of the 23rd the situation was as follows: The 27th Division was in its old position, as was the 28th, save that the latter was much depleted by the supports which it had despatched westward. The Canadian 2nd Brigade was intact, but the 3rd Brigade was bent back so as to cover St. Julien, whence the supporting Canadian Battalions and Geddes's Detachment carried the line to the Canal at Boesinghe. North of this the French held on to the east bank; but the Germans had crossed at various points, and had taken Lizerne and Het Sas, and were threatening Steenstraate. The British Cavalry — General Allenby's three divisions and General Rimington's two Indian divisions — were being hurried up to support the French west of the Canal. That day there was severe artillery bombardment all along the front of the 28th Division, the Canadians and Geddes's Detachment, especially from the heavy guns on the Passchendaele ridge. But the fighting was heaviest against the Canadian 3rd Brigade, which by now was in desperate straits. Its losses had been huge and the survivors were still weak from the effects of the gas.

No food could reach them for 24 hours, and then only bread and cheese. Holding a salient, it suffered fire from three sides, and by the evening was driven to a new line through St. Julien. One company of the Buffs, sent by Geddes to support it, was altogether destroyed. There were gaps in all this Western Front and the Germans succeeded in working round the left of the 3rd Brigade and even getting their machine guns behind it. By this time the Canadian line was held from right to left by the 5th, 8th, 15th, 13th, three companies of the 7th, and the 14th Battalions, from which Geddes's Detachment extended to the French.

"About three o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 24th, a violent artillery cannonade began. At 3:30 there came the second great gas attack, and of this we have full details. The gas was pumped from cylinders, and, rising in a cloud, which at its maximum was seven feet high, it travelled in two minutes, the distance between the lines. It was thickest close to the ground and filled every cranny of the trenches. Our men had still no knowledge of it, and were provided with no prophylactics, but instinct taught some of them what to do. A wet handkerchief wrapped around the mouth gave a little relief, and it was best for a man to keep on his feet. It was fatal to run backwards, for in that case he followed the gas zone, and the exertion of rapid movement compelled deep breathing, and so drew the poison into the lungs. Its effect was to fill the lungs with fluid and to produce acute bronchitis. Those smitten by it suffered horribly, gasping and struggling for breath, with blue, swollen faces, and eyes bursting from the head. It affected the sight, too, and produced temporary blindness. Even a thousand yards from the place of emission men were afflicted with violent sickness and giddiness.

"That day, the 24th, saw the height of the Canadians' battle. The much-tried 3rd Brigade, now gassed for the second time, could no longer keep its place. Its left fell back well to the southwest of St. Julien, gaps opened up

in its front, and General Currie's 2nd Brigade was left in much the same position as that of the 3rd Brigade on Thursday evening. His left was compelled to swing south to conform; but Colonel Lipsett's 8th Battalion, which held the pivoting point on the Grafenstafel ridge — the extreme north-eastern point of our salient — did not move an inch. Although heavily gassed, they stayed in their trenches for two days until they were relieved. The 3rd Brigade, temporarily forced back, presently recovered itself, and regained much of the lost ground. About mid-day a great German attack developed against the village of St. Julien and the section of our line immediately east of it. The 3rd Brigade was withdrawn some 700 yards to a new line south of the village and just north of the hamlet of Fortuin. The remnants of the 13th and 14th Battalions could not be withdrawn, and remained — a few hundred men — in the St. Julien line, fighting till far on in the night their hopeless battle with a gallantry which has shed eternal lustre on their Motherland. Scarcely less fine was the stand of Colonel Lipsett's 8th Battalion at Grafenstafel. Though their left was in the air they never moved and at the most critical moment held the vital point of the British front. Had the Grafenstafel position gone, the enemy would in an hour have pushed behind the 28th Division and the whole eastern section. It is told how one machine-gun officer of the 7th — Lieutenant Bellew — with a defiant loaf stuck on his bayonet point above the parapet fought his machine gun till it was smashed to pieces, and then continued the struggle with relays of rifles. Far on the west the French counter-attacked from the Canal and made some progress, but the Germans were still strong on the west bank, and took Steenstraate, though the Belgian artillery succeeded in destroying the bridge behind them.

"Meanwhile, British battalions were being rushed up as fast as they could be collected. The 13th Brigade from the 5th Division took up position west of Geddes's Detachment,

between the Canal and the Pikem road, and they were supported by the York and Durham Brigades of the Northumbrian Territorial Division, which had arrived from England only three days before. The 10th Brigade from the 4th Division was coming up to support the 3rd Canadian Brigade south of St. Julien. To support the critical point at Grafenstafel the 8th Battalion of the Durham Brigade of the Northumbrian Division, and the 1st Hampshires from the 4th Division took their place between the 8th Canadians and the left of the 28th Division. The Canadians were gradually being withdrawn; the 3rd Brigade had already gone, and the Lahore Division and various battalions of the 4th were about to take over the whole of this part of the lines. But, meantime, an attempt was made to retake St. Julien. Early on Sunday morning, about 4.30, an attack was delivered by General Hull's 10th Brigade and two battalions of the York and Durham Brigades against the village. It was pushed up through the left centre of the Canadian remnant to the very edge of the houses, where it was checked by the numerous German machine guns. In the assault the 10th Brigade had desperate casualties, while the York and Durham battalions, which missed direction in the advance, lost 13 officers and 213 rank and file. On that day, so mixed was the fighting, General Hull had under him at one moment no less than 15 battalions, as well as the whole artillery of the Canadian Division.

"Monday, the 26th, was a day of constant and critical fighting, but we managed to get our reliefs in and take out the battalions which had been holding the pass since the terrible night of Thursday. The 3rd Canadian Brigade had retired on Saturday, the 2nd followed on Sunday evening. But on the Monday the latter, now less than 1,000 strong, was ordered back to the line, which was still far too thin, and, to the credit of their discipline, the men went cheerfully. They had to take up position in daylight, and

cross the zone of shell fire — no light task for those who lived through the past shattering days. That night they were relieved, and on Thursday the whole Division was withdrawn from the Ypres Salient, after such a week of fighting as has rarely fallen to the lot of British troops. Small wonder that a thrill of pride went through the Empire at the tale, and that Canada rejoiced in the midst of her sorrow. Most of the officers were Canadian born, and never was there finer regimental leading. Three Battalion commanders died — Colonel Birchall of the 4th, Colonel McHarg of the 7th, and Colonel Boyle of the 10th. Many of the Brigade staff officers fell. From the 5th Battalion only ten officers survived, five from the 7th, seven from the 8th, eight from the 10th. Of the machine-gun men of the 13th Battalion 13 were left out of 58, in the 7th Battalion only one. Consider what these men had to face. Attacked and outflanked by four Divisions, stupified with a poison of which they had never dreamed, and which they did not understand, with no heavy artillery to support them, they endured till reinforcements came, and they did more than endure. After days and nights of tension they had the vitality to counter-attack. When called upon they cheerfully returned to the inferno they had left. If the Salient of Ypres will be for all time the classic battleground of Britain, that blood-stained segment between the Poelcapelle and Zonnebeke roads will remain the holy land of Canadian arms."

The Canadians had made good. Men accustomed to civilian life, untrained, undrilled, undisciplined, until a few months before; battalions composed of lawyers, college professors and graduates, business men, labourers and clerks who, in thousands of cases, had never seen or handled a gun until this call came; had been plunged into the most scientific, bloody and devastating of the world's struggles and had met the most barbarous and best-organized and best-armed of all enemies with the courage of British veterans

and a resourcefulness born of their Canadian soil — whether native or adopted. They had proved themselves worthy to stand beside the British and French soldiers who for eight long months had been holding immense armies at bay and fighting with unsurpassed coolness and courage. Ypres had been saved, the German drive stopped, the 2nd battle for Calais practically won by the defence forces. How far were the Canadians responsible for this result? The British press, British Generals and leaders declared with generous appreciation that they had "saved the situation" and it seems clear that they did so in much the same way that Belgium had saved a greater situation — by standing in the breach and holding on until re-organization and more troops could retrieve a momentary disaster. A stream of messages, congratulations, appreciation, poured in to Ottawa or were expressed in other public forms and a few must be quoted here:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING TO H. R. H. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

I congratulate you most warmly on the splendid and gallant way in which the Canadian Division fought during the last two days north of Ypres. Sir John French says their conduct was magnificent throughout. The Dominion will be justly proud.— GEORGE R. & I.

F. M. SIR JOHN FRENCH TO GENERAL ALDERSON

I wish to express to you and to the Canadian troops my admiration for the gallant stand and fight they have made. They performed a most brilliant and valuable service last night, and again this morning.

GENERAL SIR H. SMITH-DORRIEN TO GENERAL ALDERSON

I should like you to communicate to the whole Canadian Division my thanks and admiration as Army Commander for the services they rendered to the 2nd Army during the critical period following the successful German attack on our Allies on the night of the 22nd of April.

GENERAL ALDERSON TO HIS MEN ON MAY 4TH

I would, first of all, tell you that I have never been so proud of anything in my life as I am of this armlet with "1st Canada" on it that I wear on my right arm. I think it is possible that you do not, all of you, quite realize that if we had retired on the evening of April 22 — when the Allies fell back before the gas and left our left flank quite open — the whole of the 27th and 28th Divisions would probably have been cut off. This is what our Commander-in-Chief meant when he telegraphed that "the Canadians saved the situation." My lads, if ever men had a right to be proud in this world you have.

The succeeding Battle of Festubert, or Aubers, was part of an Allied effort, following the struggle for Neuve Chapelle, to gain the Aubers Ridge which dominated Lille and La Bassée and constituted one of the vital points on the Western front. The effort as a whole was a costly failure because of the lack of artillery and high explosives sufficient to smash an infinite variety of fortified trenches, hummocks, ravines, chalk-pits, quarries, concrete-lined galleries, underground tunnels, and miniature fortresses of every kind,— backed by immense numbers of machine guns. The struggle began on May 9 and continued with varying intensity until the 19th when the Canadian 1st Division and the 51st Highland Division were ordered into action. Since St. Julien the Canadians had been resting in billets until, on the 14th, they had been moved forward ready for new operations and strengthened by reinforcements from reserve troops in England.

The Canadian part of the fighting included efforts of Companies under Colonels F. S. Meighen and R. G. E. Leckie to take a certain Orchard near Festubert; several unsuccessful efforts of the 2nd Brigade or, rather, parts of it, to take the Bexhill redoubt; the repulse of a strong German attack by the 7th Prussian Army Corps; the final capture of Bexhill by the 5th Battalion with varied incidents of heroic fighting and ceaseless effort during a period of two weeks. The casualties were severe, including a total for St. Julien and Festubert of 7,327. Between the close of this conflict and the beginning of the advance on Loos — May 26 to September 25 — there were a series of small battles, or what seemed small in this tremendous War. Of these, so far as Canadians were concerned, Givenchy was the chief, and it was a desperate affair in which glory and trenches were won; but the latter eventually abandoned. It was part of a chain of operations along the whole front and, though looming large in Canadian eyes and annals, it would not fill a great place in the history of the cam-

paign. By June 30, however, the casualties for the whole Division totalled about 50 per cent. with some battalions represented by almost their entire strength,— the 7th British Columbia and 16th Western Battalions, for instance, with losses of 913 each, the 15th Ontario Highlanders, 888 and the 16th Manitoba Highlanders 754, with others in proportion grading down to those which had not been in serious engagements.

CHAPTER VIII

CANADIANS AT THE FRONT IN 1916

At the beginning of this year the Canadian troops consisted of three Divisions and nine Brigades — the former under Generals Currie, Turner and Mercer, the latter under command, respectively, of Brigadiers-General Garnet B. Hughes, D.S.O., L. J. Lipsett, C.M.G., R. G. E. Leckie, C.M.G., Robert Rennie, D.S.O., M.V.O., David Watson, C.B., H. D. B. Ketchen, A. C. Macdonell, C.M.G., D.S.O., V. A. S. Williams, F. W. Hill, C.B. In March, General Leckie of the 3rd Brigade was wounded and replaced by Brig.-Gen. F. O. W. Loomis, D.S.O., and General Macdonell of the 7th Brigade, also wounded, was succeeded by Brig.-Gen. G. S. Tuxford, C.M.G. In June it was announced that General Lipsett would succeed the late General Mercer as Commander of the 3rd Division and that Brig.-Gen. W. St. Pierre Hughes would replace him in command of the 2nd Brigade. Brig.-Gen. J. H. Elmsley, D.S.O., replaced General Williams (a prisoner in Germany) in his Brigade command. General Turner was appointed in November to command the Canadian troops in England and was succeeded in the 2nd Division at the Front by Brig.-Gen. H. E. Burstall, C.B. Finally, a 4th Division, held in training and reserve in England, after being depleted for a time by drafts for France during the Somme fighting, was sent to the Front in August under command of Maj.-Gen. David Watson, C.B. Of the Artillery during this year, Brig.-Gen. J. H. Mitchell, Col. J. J. Creelman, Brig.-Gen. E. W. B. Morrison, D.S.O., and Brig.-Gen. J. H. Elmsley were in command of brigades at one time or another with Brig.-Gen. J. E. B. Seely, C.B., D.S.O., lately British Secretary of War, in command of the

Cavalry and Brig.-Gen. C. J. Armstrong, C.M.G., as Chief Engineer of the Canadian Corps in France.

Meanwhile, and up to May, 1916, Lieut.-Gen. Sir E. A. H. Alderson, K.C.B., had been in command of all the Canadian Forces in France. He was very popular with the men and under him the Canadians did much hard work, became splendid soldiers and distinguished themselves in the field. Differences with the Minister of Militia at Ottawa, however, made his retirement unavoidable and he was replaced by Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Julian H. G. Byng, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O., who had won reputation in South Africa as an alert, devoted and, of course, gallant soldier. Under General Alderson the Canadian 1st Division had saved Calais and the Coast at the 2nd Battle of Ypres — St. Julien and Langemarck — as British troops had done at the first battle of that name; under him the same Division had fought at Givenchy and Festubert beside the Guards and the famous "fighting Seventh" of the British Army; under him early in 1916 they still were fighting at St. Eloi in the war-blasted Ypres region. Under Sir Julian Byng the first three Divisions and Princess Patricias fought at the 3rd Battle of Ypres, while all four Canadian Divisions were under him at the struggle on the Somme. During this year the already established reputation of Canadian troops was enhanced; they were found equal to the best of their British comrades and no higher praise could be given. Where all were brave, all cheerful and patient, all earnest in the desire to get at the enemy, effective comparisons are difficult, but, Canadians naturally took, and always will take, special interest in the Canadian portion of the great battles which often ran for scores of miles along the Front and involved, perhaps, millions of men.

During January of 1916 the Princess Patricias were transferred from the 80th British Brigade to the Canadian Army Corps and Gen. W. E. B. Smith, in a farewell Order, declared that "the gallantry of the P. P. C. L. I. during the

fighting of St. Eloi and later during the 2nd Battle of Ypres, when the Battalion hung on to their trenches with unparalleled tenacity, and lost 75 per cent. of their effectives, has won for them, not only the admiration of their comrades but a reputation which will stand amongst the highest in the record of the exploits of the British Army." It was pointed out at the time that this Regiment and those of the 1st Canadian Division were the first volunteer soldiers that Britain had allowed to go to the Front. On April 3rd there began the most important conflict shared in by Canadians since St. Julien. The 2nd Division occupied on that date the ground at St. Eloi, won in recent actions by the 3rd British Division and held as a sharp salient thrust into the German position; it comprised trenches running alongside of great mine-craters. These crowned a slight rising and had been created by a German explosion and from them the enemy's trenches might have been dominated. During the week of March 28 many German efforts and an intense artillery concentration had been made to dislodge the British, and then the Canadian troops to whom the trenches were turned over; but they had been resisted and the lines connected up on the right by the Canadians with a new British line. There were many Canadian bombing attacks, all gallant efforts, and the troops by April 3 had barely got settled in their new positions, with most of the crater-ground behind them, and a "No Man's Land", of desolate and shattered history in the immediate front, when a new struggle began.

Upon them and the craters poured a heavy concentrated artillery fire for three days, which increased steadily in intensity, with the 27th (Winnipeg) Battalion as the chief sufferers; on the 6th the Germans followed it up and succeeded in getting through and occupying two of the craters. Fighting continued for days, at close range, for the German capture of the other craters and, by the Canadians, for the capture of the two which the enemy had occupied.

At first the Canadians had to retire — the trouble being largely due to a mistake as to the location and occupation of certain craters which for days held the Canadian artillery back from action and which had changed owing to new mines altering the map of the Mound. For the same reason the first counter-attacks failed. This part of the battle had been conducted by the 6th Brigade under General Ketchen, with casualties of 617 officers and men; in the latter part of it the 4th Brigade under General Rennie, after relieving the other on April 7 and making several fierce attempts to recapture the craters, gave way on the 11th to the 5th Brigade under General Watson and with casualties of 403. Then the facts were discovered as to the craters, the Artillery got in its work, and on the 17th the Germans were driven out and the battle-scarred region reoccupied. On May 1 the total casualties reported to Ottawa in this fighting were 2,759 officers and men. During the next month or so there was much work in these positions, the digging of new trenches, erecting entanglements, carrying food and ammunition through dangerous and difficult zones of fire, effecting relief, bombing, scouting, and holding on, amid conditions described by the "Eye-Witness" on May 16: "Day after day, night after night, on the Canadian front guns thunder and boom. There is little rest or security even in the rearward areas. Often the labour of weeks is undone in a single moment, fortifications crumble, parapets collapse, buildings fall and dug-outs cave in under the ruthless violence of explosive shells. Bursting shrapnel rains a vicious stream of bullets on trench, path and field. Fixed rifle batteries and machine guns sweep roads and approaches at uncertain intervals, and from points of vantage keen-eyed snipers watch patiently for the unwary." Deeds of individual gallantry were many.

Then, on June 2, the area of active fighting was transferred to the positions held by the 1st and 3rd Divisions, not far from Ypres and the battle-ground of St. Julien,

at points centering (1) around Sanctuary Wood, (2) around the ruined village of Hooge. The storm broke in Sanctuary Wood on the above date with a sudden and intense German bombardment which, in its earlier results killed Maj.-Gen. M. S. Mercer, who, with General Williams, was on an inspection tour of the trenches — the latter being made prisoner under conditions not then known. The shelling was one of the most intense yet met with on the British front and strong trenches over a wide area were swiftly swept out of existence. Succeeding months saw many similar events with, in the end, artillery supremacy on the British and French side; but at this time the Germans were still on top. It was compared to a tropical tornado which presses men flat to the ground and suffocates them, which uproots forests and hurls them headlong, which obliterates ancient landmarks, homes and shelters and leaves nothing but wreckage and desolation. Following it came the German advance and in this inferno the 4th C. M. R., under Colonel J. F. H. Ussher, suffered the brunt of the onslaught of guns and men with 637 casualties; the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles, under Col. A. E. Shaw, who fell while leading his men, then bore the strain of the attack with casualties of 367. Meanwhile, two Companies of the Princess Patricias faced the wave and Col. H. C. Buller, the gallant leader of the Regiment, was killed, and Major Hamilton Gault and Capt. H. W. Niven wounded. Then supports came up under General A. C. Macdonell and a vital position in front of Ypres was saved for the moment though some ground was lost on the east with two guns which Lieut. C. P. Cotton and his men died in defending.

The story of this battle and the death of General Mercer was little known at the time. Particulars of the personal tragedy were unobtainable, and even Lord Beaverbrook, in his official volume "Canada in Flanders," had to express ignorance of the details. As to the Canadian Mounted Rifles in this and later conflicts whole books of stirring

stories could be written — their onslaught at Bellevue Spur, for instance, their speed-effort at Amiens or their gallant carriage at the Scarpe River. Hence the interest of a narrative told by Capt. Lyman Gooderham of Toronto, Aide-de-Camp to General Mercer at the Battle of Zillebeke, and published in these pages by permission.* From his statement it appears that on the night of May 31–June 1 the 4th C. M. R. took over from the 58th Battalion, in the Yyres salient, certain trenches just south of Hooge and in an isolated corner of a small salient known as Mount Sorrel. On the 1st it was reported to Brigade Headquarters that the enemy had dug saps out into "No Man's Land," and during the night Lt.-Col. J. F. H. Ussher, commanding the Battalion, proceeded along a new sap dug by his troops and inspected some old ruined buildings that stood in that region, and, though it was the very eve of the German attack, he heard no sounds that would indicate enemy activity.

On the evening of June 1 Maj.-Gen. M. S. Mercer, C.B., commanding the Third Division, decided to go up and have a look at the enemy saps which had been reported, and at the same time to inspect the First and Fourth C. M. R., who were in this front line. On the 2nd he left Divisional Headquarters with Captain Gooderham as A. D. C. and called for Brig.-Gen. V. A. S. Williams to accompany him on the inspection. The General's party then consisted of himself, General Williams, Captain Gooderham and Captain Hugh Fraser, A. D. C. to General Williams. As they approached the forward area, coming up about 8:30 a. m., the enemy placed a sudden and heavy local bombardment on these trenches. Safely passing through this bombardment, however, the General's party reached Colonel Ussher's Battalion headquarters, which was in a dug-out in the immediate support trench, about twenty-five yards back of the front line, or "fire" trench.

* Also published in part in the Toronto *Star* of March 22, 1919.

This fact is rather striking because in later trench warfare a battalion headquarters dug-out was invariably from 500 to 1,000 yards behind the front line. But so closely packed was the maze of trenches in this salient that headquarters were pushed into what ordinarily would have been termed the front line. The trench mortar bombardment having died down, the General's party, led by Colonel Ussher, proceeded out to inspect the Fourth C. M. R. trenches. Now, this particular frontage had two features which made it peculiarly susceptible to German attack. The first were the saps driven into "No Man's Land," both British and German, down some of which the latter came, as a matter of fact, a few hours afterwards. The other and most vital point was a gap of some fifty yards between the Battalion's right flank and the Fifth Battalion of the First Division. But the C. M. R. felt fairly secure, having on both sides of them old and experienced troops. The line-up from Hooge southward was as follows: Royal Canadian Regiment, Princess Pats, First C. M. R., Fourth C. M. R., Fifth Battalion, and so on down the old First Division to the Canal.

So the General's party made their tour of the Fourth C. M. R. trenches, going to the right along the support trench and to the left along the front line. Half way between the front and support trenches and only a few yards from either was a narrow eight-foot-deep shelter trench known as the "tube." Out of this "tube" ran a hole in the earth, down six feet deep, to a tunnel about sixty feet long, where a party of No. 2 Tunnelling Company was working. The inspection of the C. M. R. trenches being completed to the satisfaction of General Mercer, the two Generals, their aides and Colonel Ussher were standing in the front line near the communication trench, called "O'Grady Avenue," shortly after 9 o'clock in the morning, when there burst, with awful violence and unexpectedness, a bombardment

and *barrage* such as perhaps had never before been seen on the Western front.

General Mercer ordered Colonel Ussher to go to his headquarters, only a few yards away, and order in the General's name all the artillery of his command to retaliate. Colonel Ussher reached his headquarters less than two minutes after the bombardment opened, but by that time all telephone wires from headquarters had been destroyed, and he promptly sent out two pairs of runners with the messages. In the meantime a shell struck the edge of the trench right where the two Generals and their aides were standing. Brig.-Gen. Williams fell seriously wounded, and General Mercer and Captain Gooderham were thrown down and badly shell-shocked. General Williams was taken to the nearest shelter, which was the "tube" trench around the corner. Colonel Ussher then met General Mercer and Captain Gooderham and conducted them to his headquarters, such as it was, and made them as comfortable as possible. At General Mercer's suggestion, Colonel Ussher then went forward again to see how General Williams was getting on and to look into the general situation. Leaving Major W. W. Denison, his second-in-command, and Capt. J. H. Symons, his adjutant (afterwards killed), with General Mercer, he proceeded to the "tube" trench, where he found that Capt. F. S. Park, the medical officer, whose dressing station had been blown to bits at the opening of the bombardment, had turned the little unfinished tunnel that led out of the "tube" trench into a temporary aid post and shelter for the wounded.

This tunnel was about 60 feet long by 2½ feet wide by 5 feet high. It was full of tools, lumber and undumped earth. It had two exits — the one in the "tube" trench, a mere circular hole in the ground, unsupported by beams, and the other in the communication trench, a boarded shaft with a ladder up it. In this tunnel Colonel Ussher found General Williams badly wounded and unconscious. In the tunnel

also were about eight or nine wounded men and a party of about thirty men of the Tunnelling Company. A few moments later, with a tremendous concussion, the "tube" end of the trench was crushed in. Colonel Ussher then passed the word along the tunnel for the men to move out by the O'Grady Avenue exit, as the place had become a death-trap. A few men succeeded in getting out, when, suddenly, the word was passed back: "This end has crumpled in, too!" Captain Park immediately organized a party to dig out the exit, but when the workers, later on, succeded in clearing a way out, the Germans were far past the place and the Canadians emerged only to be promptly captured and taken to the enemy headquarters. Meantime the terrible German bombardment had kept on with unfailing intensity, hour after hour. Ordinarily such an intense *barrage* preceded an attack by only a few minutes and, while it lasted, the troops sought whatever shelter was available until the sentries gave the signal to meet the oncoming enemy.

But, on this occasion, from 9 o'clock in the morning, hour after hour, that terrific bombardment continued and was concentrated on the little corner held by the C. M. R. brigade. The First Division battalions on the right of the Princess Pats and Royal Canadians on the left, got their share, but with nothing like the intensity of the Mount Sorrel shelling. The Fourth C. M. R. trenches were blown in one by one. The dead and wounded lay everywhere. The living, driven from their trenches to shelter in shell-holes, waited for the lifting of the bombardment and the onrush of the Germans. But the enemy did not come. Hour after hour the tornado kept up and the last remaining shelters were crumpled to pieces. It looked as if no attack were coming, while down under the earth a party was toiling to free Colonel Ussher and the wounded General. Back in Battalion headquarters, itself badly battered, despite a position in the back slope of Mount Sorrel, Major-

General Mercer, seeing the position torn to pieces and the bombardment commencing to slacken, decided to make an effort to reach his own headquarters and prepare to meet the coming attack. With Captain Gooderham supporting him, he started out just before one o'clock across the open space for the rear, there being no communication trenches left.

Just as they approached Armagh Wood, the General was shot through the leg and the bone broken; Captain Gooderham dragged him into a shell-hole, and at this juncture the bombardment lifted over Armagh Wood and the Germans swarmed to the attack. It was a losing fight for the Canadians. The few unwounded Fourth C. M. R. men fought as best they could from their scattered shell-holes, until they discovered that the enemy had crowded through the 50-yard gap on their right flank and had taken them in the rear. They made a desperate effort to escape, and a few did so; the remainder were killed or taken prisoner. Meantime General Mercer and Capt Gooderham, hidden in their shell-hole, watched the Germans passing on the way to Armagh Wood and up to Observatory Ridge. There was little sign of khaki, except the dead and the wounded everywhere. Toward evening the Canadians counter-attacked and made four attempts during the night of the 2nd and 3rd. Unfortunately General Mercer was lying at a point swept unknowingly by the British *barrage,* and about 1 a. m. was instantly killed with a piece of shrapnel through his heart. Captain Gooderham was found by the Germans on the morning of the 4th of June, slightly wounded and badly knocked about. It was one of many miraculous escapes recorded in these years — so many were they, in fact, that they ceased to attract attention amongst the soldiers, though unceasingly wonderful to civilians at home.

The attack continued, however, on the left at Hooge, on high ground which threatened the heart of the Canadian position and on what was called the Apex line to Maple

Copse, in the direction of Zillebeke, upon which 2,000 Germans were advancing with only three Companies of the 5th C. M. R. under Col. G. H. Baker — who was killed in the struggle — opposed to them and what was left of the Princess Patricias' Companies and of the 1st and 4th C. M. R. The situation was greatly helped by General Macdonell scraping together reinforcements, by a certain hesitation of the enemy in taking advantage of his opportunity, and by the gallant stand of the 5th C. M. R., who held good their main position though shelled to pieces for hours at a stretch and hunted from cover to cover. Meanwhile Colonel F. W. Hill had held the positions at Hooge with coolness and courage. Upon the whole, however, the first line was pushed back on a front of a mile and a half. As to this struggle the London *Times* correspondent described the awful nature of the German artillery preparation over Maple Copse, Observatory Ridge and Armagh Wood: "Each one of these names will be written large in history. The lines in front of these points were held then by a battalion of the Canadian Mounted Rifles, and other battalions came up later to assist them, through the *barrage,* and few things finer, it is said, were ever seen in war than the way in which they came."

Finally, at midnight, reinforcements arrived and a counter-attack began in the early morning of June 3. According to Mr. John Buchan:* "They pressed on most gallantly, and won back much of the lost ground. But they could not stay in it, owing to the intensity of the German artillery fire, and they were compelled to fall back from most of that shell-swept area which became a kind of extended No Man's Land. For two days the battle was stationary, and then at midday on 6th June the German guns opened again, concentrating on the front south and north of the shattered village of Hooge. North of that place they exploded a series of mines between three and

* Nelson's History of the War, Vol. XIV.

four in the afternoon, and presently their infantry had penetrated our first-line trenches. . . . For a week the battle continued but slowly declined to an intermittent bombardment, for infantry raids were impossible owing to the downpour of rain. Then at 1.30 on the morning of June 13 a fresh Canadian Division — the 1st, under Major-General A. W. Currie — attacked on a front of 500 yards, extending from the south end of Sanctuary Wood to a point 1,000 yards north of Hill 60. They found that the enemy had not gone far in consolidating his gains, and they found, too, that our previous bombardments had done great execution. They occupied all his advanced line, and regained their original front trenches in the most important part of the section, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy, and taking 123 prisoners."

Part of the trouble, a condition which enhanced difficulties in all these earlier military movements, was the inadequate supply of light railways and the delays caused by blocked-up roads. Amongst the battalions suffering greatly were the 14th of Montreal, which had casualties of 387, the 49th of Edmonton, the 42nd of Montreal. The 3rd Division proved themselves, in this their first fight, while various battalions of the 1st Division showed themselves as veterans of the War. In the successful attack General H. E. Burstall had commanded a tremendous and carefully prepared assemblage of big guns and the Germans had received a dose of their own medicine. Generals Lipsett and Tuxford were in command of this assault with Maj.-General Currie as Divisional Commander and General Byng in control of the whole. Press correspondents described this battle or series of battles which were variously called the 3rd of Ypres, Sanctuary Wood, Hooge and Zillebeke, as the fiercest British action since Loos, and tributes to Canadians, and especially the Princess Patricias, were many — Philip Gibbs referring (June 8) to the latter Regiment's "superb and self-sacrificing courage."

Following this series of struggles the Canadians were given a brief rest and then moved to the Somme district where in September they again distinguished themselves. During the Battle of the Ancre, and the prolonged struggle which swept along the Somme, different British divisions had special work to do, and on September 15–16, when Martinpuich, Belmont, Hamel, Flers and other village-fortresses were being stormed, the Canadians — who had recently relieved the Australians under conditions of extreme difficulty from shell-fire — were given the region in front of Courcelette to capture. It was their first real offensive and nothing could stop them. Their action was part of an attack on a quadrilateral chain of fortresses in which British Guards, London Territorials and New Zealanders also shared. The 4th, 5th and 6th Canadian Brigades took part. Just before the advance a certain line of trench upon which that advance hinged had to be straightened out and the 2nd Battalion (Colonel A. E. Swift) of the 1st Division was given the task which it successfully performed. The ensuing advance was in skirmishing order and in six waves of attack. The artillery *barrage* moved before the men, pounding the ground with shot and shell. The moment they topped a certain ridge the Canadians came into full view of the enemy who opened upon them with rifle and machine-gun fire, and placed a *barrage* of shell-fire in front of them. The Canadians moved forward steadily, passed through the German *barrage,* captured Mouquet Farm after desperate resistance, and then swarmed into the fortified ruins of a sugar refinery. These ruins, strongly garrisoned, were a veritable nest of machine-gun emplacements and it was here that the units on the right of the attack did their heaviest fighting of the day; but they took the position, garrisoned it, then moved forward and dug themselves in. In the meantime battalions on the left had kept pace with this advance. They crossed a German trench and encountered several fortified sunken

roads which had to be cleared of the enemy with grenades and bayonets; then they continued through the hostile *barrage,* came abreast of the sugar refinery, passed it and dug themselves in.

The Canadians thus had reached and taken their formidable objectives and secured themselves in their new positions. It was a splendid piece of work, planned and carried out with mathematical precision, and in detail showed hundreds of incidents of individual heroism. Following this the Artillery got to work again and the quick advance upon Courcelette village was made — a French Canadian battalion leading in the final assault and Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick battalions and the Princess Patricias sharing in the preliminary work, or in the final assault of Canadians. Of this the London *Times'* correspondent wrote on September 16: "There were many very formidable German positions in front of Courcelette, especially two trenches, which the enemy had fortified in every possible way. Twice the waves of men went forward and failed to reach the trenches. The third wave swept into and over both trenches and into the outskirts of Courcelette. It was not supposed that the place could be taken at this stage of the fighting but our men, having won all that they were set to win, clamoured to be allowed to go on. It was after six in the evening before the troops on right and left of this attack had both completed their work and firmly held the ground up to the village itself. Then they went on; and by 8.10 o'clock at night they had worked clear through the ruins and had carried two especially strong positions on the farther side — the cemetery on the north-east and a quarry on the north of the village." The prisoners taken were over 1,200, including 32 officers, with two guns and a large number of machine guns; the Canadian casualties were estimated at 4,000.

Much desultory fighting followed this success. In his report for the week of September 20-27 the Canadian Eye-Witness stated that "as a result of further severe fighting

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

The Canal Du Nord — A Vital Point in a Great Battle

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

A Sample of Any Town in the Arras-Cambrai Zone

the Canadians have captured several important German positions and have advanced their own line upon a frontage of nearly two miles to a maximum depth of 900 yards. The total number of prisoners in their hands since the beginning of the great offensive now amounts to 38 officers and 1,610 of other ranks. They have also captured about 25 machine guns, 11 trench mortars and a great quantity of ammunition of all sorts and other war materials." They were greatly assisted in important trench captures on September 22 and other dates by powerful Artillery preparations. On the 26th the strong Zollern Graben redoubt was captured. Following this, they went on toward the crest of the high ground north of Courcelette and captured the Hessian and Kenora trenches. Attacks and counter-attacks ensued around these positions and, during the month of October, Canadian cavalry patrols were also active, while upon three occasions the powerful Regina trench was partly taken and then lost again. On October 21 the Canadians succeeded in capturing the greater part of the trench from the Prussian Guards during a general advance of the British forces. The remaining portions were finally taken in a brilliant assault on November 11. A week later the capture of Desire trench by an Ottawa Battalion saw 14 out of 15 officers killed or wounded but the objective was gained, over 400 prisoners, including 17 officers, captured, with a number of machine guns. The 4th Division under General Watson took part in many of these operations. With the close of the Somme offensive the troops reverted to ordinary trench warfare. Seventh Brigade Orders were issued by Brig.-Gen. A. H. Macdonell at the close of the year which paid special tribute to the conduct of the Princess Patricias, the Royal Canadian Regiment and the 42nd and 49th Battalions in the actions of September and October. In these months of fighting Canadian casualties, as recorded, showed 11,797 in June, in July 3,684, in August 3,079, in September 9,051, in October 14,321, in November 3,595 and in December 2,230.

CHAPTER IX

CANADIANS AT THE FRONT IN 1917

THE year 1917 saw 125,000 Canadians in France, giving, when up to establishment, 90,000 fighting troops. This Army Corps was commanded by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Julian Byng before and after Vimy, and then by Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arthur Currie; its Divisional Commanders of the year were Majors-General A. C. Macdonell — after General Currie's promotion — H. E. Burstall, L. J. Lipsett, and David Watson; its Cavalry Brigade was led by Brig.-Gen. J. E. B. Seeley, D.S.O. In the Force* there were 54 battalions of Infantry, or about 55,000 men, more than 10,000 Artillery, from 3,000 to 4,000 Engineers, 3,000 Medical troops, about 2,000 Army Service Corps, with others making about 20,000 troops of arms other than the Infantry. The Cavalry brigade had an establishment of 3,000. The Corps troops amounted to 11,000, the bulk of them being Artillery, 5,000 or 6,000 strong, including Siege artillery, Aircraft artillery, French motors, with Corps' field-troops for maintaining the supply of ammunition, etc. In these troops there were also over 2,000 engineers, tunnellers, telegraphers, telephonists, etc., with 3,000 machine-gunmen and cyclists. With these men in the Divisions, the Cavalry brigade and Corps troops, were 28,000 attached to Railway, Forestry and Labour Services, and 36,000 more on the lines of communication. Such figures, of course, indicated the establishment and necessarily differed at various stages of fighting, rest, recuperation and reserve.

At the beginning of the year, Maj.-Gen. A. W. Currie, C.B., who had been in command of the First Division since 1915, was steadily making his mark as a rising officer of

* Official statement issued by Department of Militia, Ottawa, on November 1, 1917.

solid ability. He had joined the Canadian Militia as a private in 1895 and had worked his way up to the successful command of the Fifth British Columbia Regiment of Garrison Artillery; he received in 1914, the command of a brigade for active service and soon showed elements of unusual military capacity. His great opportunity came, when in June of this year General Byng was promoted to the command of one of the British armies and in issuing a Special Order of farewell to the Canadians said: "During the year of my command the unvarying success in battle, the progress in training and in discipline, and the unswerving devotion and loyalty of all ranks are features which stand out prominently in the history of the Corps. That history will last forever, and my association with you in the making of it is a joy that can never be impaired." Many tributes were paid to this popular Commander by the Dominion Government, officers and men in personal correspondence, and by all who knew his military work of the period. The Canadian press, however, was chiefly interested in his successor and various journals hoped it would be a Canadian, with Generals Currie and Turner specially mentioned. On June 19 it was announced that Sir Arthur Currie—recently knighted by the King upon the battlefield of Vimy—had been authorized to take over the command. It was a remarkable promotion and well illustrated the possibilities for natural talent in a great struggle where ability was such an obvious essential. In July the new Commander was gazetted, with Maj.-General Turner, a Lieut.-General.

The war efforts and successes of the Canadians during 1917 came at a stage when the acknowledged high standing of their Army Corps was at its best, with a good average of mental and physical qualities, excellent conditions of discipline and training, a shrewd individual common-sense trained in the business of war. There was quick initiative and a disregard for red-tape which was characteristic and effective when combined with discipline. Canadians had

held at various times a battle-front ranging from about a mile on the Ypres salient, 6,000 yards in the fierce fighting of June, 1916, and perhaps twelve miles in the Somme offensive of 1916; early in 1917 they held, according to the estimate of Stewart Lyon, when acting as Canadian war correspondent, about one-fortieth of the entire Western front. During the first months of this year they carried out a number of important raids — notably north of Arras on January 17 with 1,000 yards of trenches captured; on February 15 when a Bavarian battalion was treated to mines and bombs and some of their trenches were taken; on February 27 and March 1 when considerable damage was done the enemy but with the loss in the latter fight of Colonels S. G. Beckett and A. H. G. Kimball, C.B., D.S.O.

Then came the Battle of Vimy Ridge. It was a part of the general attack launched on April 9 by the First and Third Armies of the British command along the Arras front and the Canadians were given a section of the Arras-Lens Road, with Vimy Ridge as their objective. They had four Divisions in line assisted by one British brigade. Their troops numbered about 75,000, with Lieut.-Gen. Sir Julian Byng, K.C.B., in command of the Corps, which was a part of the First Army under General Sir H. S. Horne, K.C.B.; the enemy's Army was under the Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria with about 140,000 troops in his command. The Commanders of the four Canadian Divisions were, respectively, Majors-General Currie, Burstall, Lipsett and Watson; the Infantry Brigades were commanded by Brigadiers-General Garnet B. Hughes, C.M.G., W. St. P. Hughes, D.S.O., F. O. Loomis, D.S.O., G. S. Tuxford, C.B., C.M.G., Robert Rennie, C.M.G., M.V.O., D.S.O., A. H. Macdonell, C.M.G., D.S.O., A. C. Macdonell, D.S.O., C.M.G., H. D. B. Ketchen, C.M.G., J. H. Elmsley, D.S.O., F. W. Hill, D.S.O., Victor W. Odlum, D.S.O., and J. H. MacBrien, D.S.O. The attack of the Canadian Corps was preceded by a blasting, withering fire from British and Canadian artillery which smashed

Vimy Ridge as though by the combined force of an earthquake and tornado. The defences had been organized on a scale proportionate to the importance of the position and consisted of an extensive and intricate series of heavily wired trench systems, with numerous fire trenches and communication trenches, deep and elaborate dug-outs, caves and tunnels, concrete machine-gun and trench-mortar emplacements, and cunningly constructed redoubts, while along the whole front lay a chain of great craters created by preceding mine explosions. The following review of the Battle itself was written by F. A. McKenzie, a Canadian correspondent, who saw the scenes described:*

"The Canadian lines had been shortened to a front of about 7,000 yards from Kennedy Crater to the left to Commandant House on the right. The left of the line was to advance a comparatively small way, but the right had to push up about 4,000 yards to the edge of Farbus Wood. Were this done the whole of the ridge would fall into our hands and give us command of the country below.

"The preliminary work of the battle began twenty days before the advance, when systematic artillery destruction of the German lines was opened in earnest. An enormous number of guns had been accumulating for the blow. New shells were being used, armour-piercing and delayed fuse-action shells, which penetrated twenty feet and more into the ground, blowing up deep dug-outs. Not more than one-half of our guns were employed before the day. These positions were carefully concealed.

"The Germans knew that a big attack was coming on the Arras front, and they knew that the Canadians would attack them at Vimy. They did not underrate Canadian prowess. 'The Canadians are known to be good troops and are, therefore, well suited for assaulting,' wrote Von Bachmeister, of the 79th Reserve Division, on March 30th.

* This extract is taken by permission from F. A. McKenzie's volume, *Canada's Day of Glory.*

'There are no deserters to be found among the Canadians. . . . It is very certain that the Canadians are planning an attack on a large scale in the immediate future.' Day by day every roadway was searched and every suspected dump shelled. The bombardment finally reached such an intensity that for the last few days it was almost impossible for the Germans to bring reliefs or food up to their front lines.

"The chalky country around Vimy lends itself to mining. In addition to the numerous mines and counter-mines on the hill, run by either side, infantry subways had been built, deep down with galleries radiating from them. Thanks to these, it was possible to bring supplies and men right up to the front in safety. During the afternoon and night of April 8th men moved up and occupied their positions. The hour was approaching. Every soldier knew what was expected of him. The plan of battle had been carefully explained to all. The troops for weeks had been drilled over dummy trenches, modelled on the German. Each man knew where he had to go and what he had to do. He knew where the dug-outs were that he had to bomb. There was an extraordinary spirit of keenness displayed. The commanding officers attributed this largely to the fact that the men had been taken into their leaders' confidence. As General Tuxford of the Third Brigade said, his brigade 'had a very clear idea of what was expected of it and how it best could accomplish it. . . . . The result of this was shown in the extraordinary spirit of keenness displayed by all ranks — a *morale* that has never been surpassed.'

"The German commanders believed Vimy to be almost impregnable. They held the upper ground. On the ground above Souchez village they were strengthening their positions by building a number of concealed strong points of concrete and steel that would resist almost anything except a direct hit by heavy shell. Even that would not always wreck them. A considerable part of the front was broken

up by a series of craters — some of enormous size — made by systematic mine explosions. Mine craters are among the most valuable means of defence, for an attacking enemy must creep round the sides, where he can easily be swept off by a few men with machine guns. These craters were far too big to bridge. Still, more to the left was a series of very fine trenches of the most up-to-date type. Scattered all around were machine gun groups, well placed and protected. Machine-gunners rank with snipers as the pick of the German infantry. Behind the lines, in concrete and steel forts, were numbers of heavy guns. The gunners knew every vital spot ahead and had it exactly registered.

"How is a soldier equipped when he goes into battle? Let me take the men of one brigade. They were in field service marching order, with no packs, and with haversacks on backs, mess-tins slung outside haversacks, box gas masks over all equipment, and the old-fashioned gas helmet underneath. Some carried overcoats and some leather jerkins. Besides his rifle and bayonet and one hundred and twenty cartridges, every man had either a pick or shovel, four hand grenades, two sand-bags, two aeroplane flares, a Verey light, a candle and a box of matches. He took with him two days' rations and his iron ration. It will thus be seen that the load was not a light one. The coming advance was divided ahead into four stages. Four imaginary lines were drawn: Black, red, blue and brown. The first attacking parties were to go through to the Black line, following their *barrage*. When they took it they were to dig themselves in, and 'moppers up' were to search the land they had overrun, blowing up dug-outs, and attending to any of the enemy who still remained there. Then a second party was to go through the first and attack the Red line, a third through the second for the Blue, and so on to the final assault on the Brown line. Every step was exactly timed. So many minutes were allowed for capture of the Black line, a pause of two hours after the Red line was taken, and

a pause of one and a half hours on the Blue line. Eight and a half hours were allowed for the whole operation. Then, at the end, patrols were to push out into the valley beyond.

"The front was divided into four sections, one for each division. The Fifth Imperial Division had been attached to the Canadians; part of it was held in reserve, while the Thirteenth Brigade took part in the assault with the Second Division. For two days before the attack the weather had been fine. On the night of the 8th the sky grew overcast, and a bit of wind came up. Then a slight drizzle began to fall, and the wind increased, blowing, fortunately, right with us. The drizzle increased to a heavy downfall, and the rain turned to sleetish snow. By early morning the whole field of battle was one mass of beating rain and snow, driven before the wind. In the hours before dawn the Canadian troops stood waiting in the trenches. It was bitterly cold, and the drenching rain soaked them. The enemy was keeping up a precautionary bombardment on our trenches. Some of the shells got home, and one or two did considerable damage. At one spot two mortars and two hundred and fifty rounds were blown up a few minutes before zero.

"Zero, the hour for the beginning of the battle, was five-thirty. Exactly to the second close on a thousand guns opened fire. Men declared that they had never imagined such a pandemonium before. The whole front seemed lit up with a sheet of flame. During the previous days the most careful observation had been taken of the German concealed battery positions. These had been let alone until now. Suddenly every one of these positions was continuously and heavily fired upon. We saw the result afterwards, great concrete blocks hurled aside like children's toys, steel doors warped and bent, as though a giant had shaken them. Some guns were firing to cover all points of communication at the rear, and some were maintaining

a standing *barrage*. There was a rolling *barrage*, by eighteen-pounder guns, moving forward in average leaps of one hundred yards. At a given second the infantry, every man keyed up to his highest, climbed over the trenches and moved forward, following the *barrage*.

"The whole front was one mass of craters and shell holes. The fire had been so intense that it had eliminated the German front trenches. When soldiers reached them they passed them by without recognition. Only broken cupolas and traces of what had been observation posts remained. The men tramped forward, following the *barrage* ahead, going through the ever-increasing enemy fire. The shell holes — the place seemed to be all shell holes — were full of icy water. Wounded men who fell into one of these holes died as a rule, drowned in the mud. Let us follow the advance division. The First Division had to attack the southern slope of the ridge, on a front of, roughly, two thousand yards, its final objective being two and a half miles from the British front line. The Second and Third Brigades led the way, the Second Brigade on the right, and the Highland Brigade to the left, with the Canadian Scottish, the Royal Montreal Regiment and the 48th Highlanders of Toronto ahead, and the Royal Highlanders supporting. Behind was the First Brigade.

"At first the opposition was slight, and the enemy artillery fire particularly poor. Soon, however, the whole line came under heavy machine-gun and rifle fire. Machine-guns seemed to be everywhere. Instantly platoons, practising what they had learned during the previous weeks, set out to envelop and bomb them. The losses, mainly from machine-gun fire, soon became very heavy. Every officer in the 10th Battalion, save one, was killed or wounded. Now was the time for men's mettle to reveal itself. Wounded refused to notice their wounds. When all the officers of a company were struck down sergeants were ready to lead

on. Lieutenant Willis worked his way up to a machine-gun that was firing heavily on his battalion (the 5th) and, single-handed, captured it, bombing the crew out. Another young officer, Lieutenant Williams of the 1st Battalion, attacked a machine-gun crew, and captured it with seventeen unwounded prisoners; Lieutenant Stephenson of the 10th Battalion saw that his men were experiencing great trouble from a machine gun. He organized a party to attack it. As he moved up he was shot through the throat. He kept on notwithstanding, and killed or wounded several of the machine-gun crew. The gun was captured.

"The Highland Brigade to the left got away beautifully, and was soon in the thick of a fight. The pipers marched with the battalions, skirling bravely. The 16th Battalion was proud of its pipe-major, who marched in step, turning aside for nothing. Wounded men rose on their elbows to cheer him as he passed. Colonel Peck of the 16th was ill with gastritis. But he rose from his bed to fight with his men, and kept on with them until night. Then, when victory was secure, he collapsed, and had to be carried off the field. The 48th Highlanders were led by Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Bent, who had served the regiment continuously since May, 1915, rising from second in command of a company to command of the battalion. The 48th had a rather bad experience in the assembly trenches in No Man's Land before the battle opened. The enemy sent over a number of rifle grenades and opened heavy machine-gun fire. Several officers of the 48th were struck. Captain Alastair Fraser was wounded when leading his men into the first German line. He kept on; he was again wounded, this time very badly in the groin. He now crawled on. Lieutenant Maitland Newman was so badly wounded that he could not move, but, after he had fallen to the ground, he continued to direct his men. Captain MacTier was shot through the thigh. He continued with his company several yards further, shouting encouragement, until he could stand no longer. These are typical

cases. The records of almost every battalion could give similar instances. The men were heroes.

"Nothing could keep the Canadians back. When one company was wiped out another was sent up to take its place. The Black line was reached and passed. Now the two brigades were on to the Red line. Opposition stiffened. Isolated groups of Germans fought with the utmost desperation. One machine gun, concealed in concrete in a haystack, caused heavy loss to the 16th Battalion. Eight officers of this battalion were killed and thirteen wounded that day. It was now the turn of the First Brigade. The 1st Battalion was acting as a flanking force. It started in the rear of the Second and Third Brigades, which, having done their work, were now consolidating. It captured the Blue line by eleven o'clock, and at an hour after noon the Brown line was in its hands. The soldiers could now see the wonderful plain stretched out on the other side of the ridge. The weather had cleared, and Douai, twelve miles distant, stood out. Between it and the ridge was a great stretch of mining villages and factories.

"Farbus Wood, on the eastern downward slope of the ridge, was still being shelled by our guns. As soon as the artillery ceased the First went on again. There was a line of batteries of German guns at the bottom of the wood. The Canadians, with a cheer, rushed them. The Germans stood, many of them, to their guns bravely, firing their last charges point-blank. By a quarter to six the First Division reported that their scouts had cleared Farbus Wood and had reached the railway beyond, without opposition. The Second Division attacked with four brigades, in place of three, and attacked on a two-battalion frontage in place of, as with others, three battalions in the line. Eight tanks were given to co-operate with this division. They were useless. They could not penetrate through the terrible mud, and not one of them even reached the Black line.

"The Fourth and Fifth Brigades attacked the Zwischen Stellung, a strong German trench, at a point about 250 yards west of Les Tilleuls. This was the Black line. Pushing over the shell-pitted ground, amid the heavily beating snow and rain, scarcely able to see a few paces ahead, they were soon met by very heavy machine-gun fire. For a brief space the 19th Battalion was held up by the guns at Balloon Trench. The troops immediately in front took cover, while the flanks stretched out almost automatically, closed around and captured the guns. Colonels led their battalions. Colonel Jones, a very gallant soldier, was wounded badly as he led the 21st forward. He was killed sixteen months afterward, again leading his men into fight, in our great advance of August, 1918. On this day, at Vimy, the battalion pressed on, gained their objective and captured a German gun with fifteen rounds of ammunition. The Fourth Brigade consolidated on the Black line. The Fifth Brigade pressed on the Red line. Now the Thirteenth Imperial Brigade took a hand in the game. The troops were mainly from two famous Imperial regiments, the Royal West Kents and the King's Own Scottish Borderers. The West Kents and the Canadians had a special interest in each other, for they had been the regiment of the Canadians's first commander in the field, General Alderson.

"The Imperials did their part well. They made their way through Goulot Wood, capturing about two hundred prisoners, four machine-guns, and two eight-inch howitzers. Then they advanced to the final objective, where they were met by a nest of artillery. The guns fired at them at point-blank range. A company of the K. O. S. B. attacked them with rifle grenades and Lewis guns. They took three 5.0 howitzers, four 77-mm. guns, one damaged howitzer, and a 90-mm. gun. The Canadians appreciated to the full the assistance given to them, and showed their appreciation in every possible way. To go back to the remainder of the Second Division. As the troops moved further on the Ger-

man resistance stiffened. At first many of the Huns had been so demoralized by our artillery fire that they surrendered easily. Some of the trenches on the Lens-Arras road were found to be unoccupied, save for isolated parties, who put up a very stout fight.

"Grenadier, Graben and Dump Trenches were held in force, with many men and machine-guns. The Canadians worked round these, some companies holding the front while others enveloped and rushed them, taking in the two trenches 396 prisoners. The 25th Battalion, which was now in the front, lost its commander, Major de Lancey. The second in command, Major A. O. Blois, although wounded, took over charge and continued to direct his men all day. By 10 a. m. the Division was well forward. The 29th Battalion had taken Thelus Trench and the 28th and 31st Battalions had carried the western end of Thelus village. The 29th fought through a sunken road to a mill which had given some of our troops much trouble. The third objective was ours at a few minutes past 11 o'clock.

"While 'mopping up' was proceeding vigorously, the troops came on a number of caves, an historic feature of Vimy Ridge. These caves are said to have been the place of refuge of the Huguenots from Arras, where they met and worshipped when proscribed and hunted. Now they were refuges of another kind. Numbers of German troops, unable to endure our shell fire, had taken shelter in them. One lieutenant bagged over one hundred men in a single cave. The caves were deep enough to be safe. It was an extraordinary sensation to go down in them in the midst of the overwhelming noise and muddy misery above, and to find oneself in sombre quiet, in a series of chambers where a division might be given refuge. Our men had provided themselves ahead with a special kind of bomb for throwing down dug-outs and caves. It did not kill, but made such an intolerable reek that any below had to come out or be choked.

"The hottest German resistance was, perhaps, on the last line of all. Here the 27th and 29th Battalions met with heavy opposition. The German gunners held their line of concrete gun positions well, firing point-blank as the Canadians came over the slope. They used machine-guns, rifles and revolvers. The gun positions were taken at the point of the bayonet. The Second Division by early in the afternoon had seized all its objectives, and was pushing out its patrols through Farbus Village beyond. The brigadier of the foremost troops was anxious to go on. The weather had cleared. His men were flushed with victory. Could he have struck then, in conjunction with the troops of the other divisions near by, we might have swept through the line of villages beyond, that afterwards was to hold us for so long. But the limit of artillery range had been reached. Hours before word had been given for the guns to move up. Slipping, slithering, fighting, swearing, the gunners were striving to force their horses on. But it was almost impossible to move them. Guns were half buried in mud. Wheels slipped through the mire with nothing to grip. The Sixth Brigade endeavoured that night to seize the railway line and the station east of Farbus Wood. But it was strongly held with many machine-guns.

"The Third Division had not so far to go as the First or Second, its final objective being the Red line. A great part of its work was the clearing of La Folie Wood, which was strongly held by the enemy. The fighting here much resembled that on other parts. The famous brigades led the way, the Eighth to the right, composed of four battalions of the Canadian Mounted Rifles; and the Seventh to the left, including the Royal Canadian Regiment, the 'Princess Pats,' the 42d and the 49th. . . . The snow, rain and wind caused much trouble, for troops could not see where they were. Nevertheless, the Seventh Brigade was in the Black line by 6 o'clock and the Eighth soon after. The troops were very seriously hampered by the

position on their left, and it was clear that things were not going well there. The left flank should by this time have been captured by the Fourth Division, but it was still in enemy hands. Raking machine-gun fire from it caused much loss, particularly to the 42nd. As this battalion advanced German troops sprang up behind it. The troops had to form a defensive flank, pivoting on a crater. A communication trench was dug, which also served as a defensive flank. By 9 o'clock the final objective had been taken, many hundreds of prisoners captured, and Folie Wood cleared. But the position of the division was by no means comfortable, for its whole left was threatened by a well-placed and active foe.

"The Fourth Division, on the extreme left, covered a frontage of about 2,000 yards. The attack here was made by the Eleventh and Twelfth Brigades. The 87th and 102nd Battalions led the attack of the Eleventh Brigade. A commanding hillock, known as 'The Pimple,' dominated the position, and the enemy had covertly constructed a number of strong concrete and steel machine-gun positions, which swept the place in every direction. These had been built so secretly and camouflaged so cleverly that their presence had not been discovered by our artillery. When our troops jumped over the top, they were promptly met by a devastating fire. The 87th Battalion lost 60 per cent. of its men in a very short time, and its support, the 75th, did not reach it. The 102nd Battalion attained its objective, but every officer was killed or wounded, and the command of the battalion fell on a company sergeant-major. The 54th, supporting the 102nd, reached its objective, but it could not remain there, and had to retire. When the troops advanced they found Germans would spring up behind them and attack them from the rear. The enemy had built tunnels in the slope and would conceal themselves while our men passed and then come out. The right of the 87th was held up, and never reached the enemy's front line.

"Hour after hour Germans and Canadians fought on, often hand to hand. The machine-gun positions could not be broken down. The Twelfth Brigade was faring little better. At the start the ground was in such an appalling state that the troops could not keep up with the *barrage*. They groped along, almost blindly, because of the storm. They were fighting around a nest of craters. When the 38th imagined that they had captured their crater positions, and were consolidating, they found that three craters behind them were still in enemy hands. When the 78th, who were in support, pushed through the 38th, they succeeded in reaching their first objective, in spite of the heavy fire from the Pimple. Some men pushed on to their final objective, actually reaching it. They were immediately attacked from behind by German troops, who emerged from dug-outs and overwhelmed them. Not a man came back. We only learned where they had got days afterwards, when the final objective was taken and the bodies of the men of the 78th found there. While these were being slaughtered, a considerable body of Germans counter-attacked the weakened main body of the 78th. Every available man at the headquarters of the 38th and 78th Battalions had to be sent up and a company of sixty men from the 73rd was hurried forward. Even then it seemed for a considerable time that our attack might be turned into a retreat. The troops were hard put to it to hold the line.

"The 72nd Battalion was fighting in the centre of the brigade. The trenches here had in part been absolutely wiped out by shell fire. All sense of direction was lost. The troops fought until they got right around Montreal Crater, one of the largest on the western front. They kept on until they struck against the German tram line which goes down the hill in the direction of Souchez Village. But they could go no further. How desperately the 73rd fought can be judged by the casualties. Every officer in A Company was killed or wounded, and only fourteen of the rank

and file unharmed; only one officer and twelve of other ranks were left in B Company, fifteen rank and file in C Company, and eighteen rank and file in D Company. The 73rd Battalion, which attacked on the extreme left, was the most fortunate of all. It took its objective easily, with very few casualties.

"By early in the afternoon the position of the Fourth Division was very unsatisfactory. The losses had been heavy and there was little to show for them. The men had displayed splendid gallantry, but the mud, which was specially bad at this section of the ridge, and the unbroken German positions had proved too strong. Over one part of the line Canadians and Germans were maintaining an intermittent fight from shell-hole to shell-hole and from crater to crater. The job had to be done. Troops were reformed in the afternoon. In the night they attacked again, the 85th and the 42nd driving the enemy over the crest of the Pimple. Next day another attack completely captured that position. With it in our hands the rest was a matter of detail."

The honour won in this action was great and promised to be permanent; the comments were world-wide and eulogistic of the Canadian forces; the congratulations many and earnest. As Percival Phillips, of the London *Morning Post*, put it (April 10): "The Canadians hold Vimy Ridge and dominate the beaten enemy beyond it. They fought their way from the foot to the crest and continued their progress down the steeper eastern slope to-day. It is the bitterest German defeat of all. The Ridge which barred our path to the plain of Douai was regarded by Prince Rupprecht's armies, like many other defences since lost, as an impregnable fortress capable of resisting any assault. Yet the Canadians took it on a time-table, which, save in one trifling instance, was faithfully adhered to, and flung the Bavarian front back into the ruins of Vimy and the scarred

field below." In an editorial of April 11 the New York *Tribune* declared that: "No praise of the Canadian achievement can be excessive. From the plains and from the mountains, from the cities and from the prairies, Canada has poured out her thousands and her hundreds of thousands; she has sent across the ocean an army greater than Napoleon ever commanded on any battle-field; her volunteer regiments have shown the same stubborn and tenacious quality which is the glory of the British Army."

From the British press came whole-hearted and unstinted eulogy. Little in comparison was said of the English north-country and Scottish troops who, in this far-flung Arras fight, also captured dozens of fortified and difficult places on the way to Lens and Cambrai and St. Quentin, took about 10,000 prisoners and many guns and in six days advanced six miles and smashed the tradition of trench impregnability. The imagination of old and new countries alike was caught by the specific Canadian success. From the King in London and the Prime Minister at Ottawa came congratulations, and from Sir Edward Kemp an official cable, from the Governor-General of Australia and Mr. Walter Long, Colonial Secretary, came cabled eulogies, while General Sir Henry Horne made this official statement: "By the troops of the First Army the Vimy Ridge has been regarded as a position of very great strength. The Germans have considered it impregnable. To have carried this position with so little loss testifies to soundness of plan, thoroughness of preparation, dash and determination in execution, and devotion to duty on the part of all concerned. The ninth of April will be a historic day in the annals of the British Empire." In a Special Order Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig said: "The capture of the renowned Vimy Ridge is an achievement of the highest order and of which Canada may well be proud."

The operations of this first phase in the Battle of Arras were continued on April 28 on a front of eight miles and

followed preliminary attacks held up by insufficiently destroyed wire entanglements. The objectives of the Canadian Corps on this date consisted of Arleux-en-Gohelle and the German trench system west of the village known as the Arleux Loop. The attacking troops were ordered to advance to a definite line east of the village, and there consolidate a position in preparation for further operations. This attack was launched at 4:45 A. M., and in spite of determined resistance on the part of the German infantry the whole of the enemy's trench line was successfully carried. Severe fighting took place in Arleux but the garrison of the village was gradually overcome, and the objectives gained. Some hundreds of prisoners were taken and the line held. In further co-operation with the British advance and in a general attack from Bullecourt to Fresnoy, the Canadian troops stormed the latter village and the German defences north of it towards a point close to Acheville. The German infantry offered the most stubborn resistance throughout the advance, and the fighting was bitter, German losses heavy and hundreds of prisoners taken. In consequence of a failure to capture Oppy this position at Fresnoy became a sharp salient and after the Canadians had been relieved by a British division was, on the 8th, evacuated.

Progress was made, however, from the readjusted Canadian trenches and on June 12 a number of trenches were captured and consolidated with counter-attacks repulsed. On the 24th of June Canadian troops co-operated with the British brigade on their left in a successful attack north of the Souchez River, by which an important section of the enemy's trench system was seized on a front of about 400 yards. Next day this success was followed up on both banks of the river. Canadian troops occupied the German trenches from the northwest edge of La Coulotte to the river, while further north, troops of the neighbouring British division made equal progress. On the 26th of June the advance of the Canadian Corps was resumed under cover

of an Artillery *barrage* and rapid progress made on the whole front between the Arras-Lens railway and the river. All objectives were gained, including La Coulotte village. On June 27 the enemy's trenches south of Avion were attacked and captured and on the 28th a general attack was launched with Canadian troops pushing through Avion and Eleu dit Léauvette.

It was in this stage of the fighting that Lieut.-Colonel Russell Britton, D.S.O., was killed by a shell. Writing to the London *Chronicle,* Philip Gibbs said: "These men who took Arleux and Fresnoy are great soldiers, excelling in certain qualities of spirit which make them terrible in attack and strong to endure . . . Imagine the spirit of men who will walk through two *barrages,* falling walls of shell-fire, in order to get at the enemy beyond. That was what happened on the way to Fresnoy." Of the fighting around Coulotte there was one brilliant piece in which a central electric station, forming an outpost of Lens, was finally taken by British Columbian troops on June 6. This part of the struggle around Lens, including Coulotte and other actions, brought Canadians within a mile of the centre of this great mining city and region while movements or raids in August captured other positions on the way — especially on August 21 when lines of trenches skirting the town were taken, with 200 prisoners. Meanwhile, on August 15, the chief portion of the Canadian troops had attacked on a front of 4,000 yards southeast of Loos with the strong fortification called Hill 70 as the objective. It had been reached by the British, but not held, in the Battle of Loos on September 25, 1915. The assault now was successful at light cost and in exact accordance with plans while, at the same time, three mining suburbs of Lens were captured. The succeeding actions resulting in the capture of Passchendaele Ridge were thus described by Sir Douglas Haig in his report of December 25:

On October 26 English and Canadian troops attacked on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers Railway to beyond Poelcappelle. The Canadians attacked on the right on both sides of the small stream known as the Ravebeek, which flows south-westward from Passchendaele. On the left bank of the stream they advanced astride the main ridge and established themselves securely on the small hill south of Passchendaele. North of the Ravebeek strong resistance was met on the Bellevue Spur, a very strong point which had resisted our efforts in previous attacks. With splendid determination the Canadians renewed their attack on this point in the afternoon and captured it. Two strong counter-attacks south and west of Passchendaele were beaten off, and by nightfall the Canadians had gained practically the whole of their objectives.

On October 30 Canadian and English troops attacked at 5:50 A. M. on a front extending from the Ypres-Roulers Railway to the Poelcappelle-Westroosebeke road. On the right the Canadians continued their advance along the high ground and reached the outskirts of Passchendaele, capturing an important position at Crest Farm on a small hill south-west of the village. Fighting was severe at all points, but particularly on the spur west of Passchendaele. Here no less than five strong counter-attacks were beaten off in the course of the day, our troops being greatly assisted by the fire of captured German machine guns in Crest Farm. At 6 A. M. on November 6 Canadian troops renewed their attack and captured the village of Passchendaele, together with the high ground immediately to the north and north-west. Sharp fighting took place for the possession of pill-boxes in the northern end of the village, around Mosselmarkt, and on the Goudberg Spur. All objectives were gained at an early hour, and at 8:50 A. M. a hostile counter-attack was beaten off. Over 400 prisoners were captured in this most successful attack, by which for the second time within the year, Canadian troops achieved a record of uninterrupted success. Four days later, in extremely unfavourable weather, British and Canadian troops attacked northward from Passchendaele and Goud-

berg, and captured further ground on the main ridge after heavy fighting.

No brief record, such as this must be, can give any idea of what the fighting of these months involved; of the universal courage displayed or the heroism so often evoked by opportunity and marked by honours from the Crown or mention in despatches; of the privations cheerfully endured, of the friendly emulation with Empire or Allied soldiers. Canadian troops did not like too much praise — though it would have been difficult to really reach that point. They were at this time amongst the best troops on the Front; to say that they were better than the best British or French soldiers would be to express an impossibility. Of the various events summarized above it may be said that the official British report of August 15 described the storming of two miles of German positions east of Loos: "The formidable defences on Hill 70, which resisted our attacks in the Battle of Loos in September, 1915, and had since been improved and strengthened by every method and device known to our enemies, were carried by assault." These lines were held, after their capture by Canadians, against what *The Times* described as "repeated German counter-attacks of the bloodiest and most costly description." It was probably the most desperate fighting that the Canadian Corps had faced during the year, and on August 22 they took another mile of trenches under similar conditions and held one advanced post within Lens itself. This conflict was marked by a bloody personal encounter with bayonets in which neither combatant would yield — until the Canadians won over the dead bodies of the enemy. Between the 15th and 22nd 1,400 prisoners were taken. Sir Douglas Haig on the 23rd sent this message to General Currie:

> I desire to congratulate you personally on the complete and important success with which your command of the Canadian Corps has been inaugurated. The Division you employed on August 15 totally defeated four German divisions, whose

> losses are reliably estimated at more than double those suffered by the Canadian troops. The skill, bravery, and determination shown in the attack and in maintaining the positions won against repeated heavy counter-attacks were in all respects admirable.

To Sir Edward Kemp, General Currie cabled in reply to congratulations that "in repeated and determined counter-attacks the flower of the German army was thrown against us, but our line remained unshaken as our own Rockies. Will not the pride which you say Canada has in her sons inspire her to send us men to take the place of those so nobly fallen?" As days and weeks passed the Canadians pressed upon and crowded the defenders of Lens — raiding at times the very heart of the blood-stained city, holding houses faced by the enemy across the street, fighting day and night, winning many decorations and multiplying incidents of heroism. Then they were relieved and placed on the Passchendaele line, where more open and conspicuous fighting took place, and they smashed their way through Bellevue Spur and other fortifications to and over the Ridge as already described. Of the Bellevue fight much might be said. While pressing up the slope the men at times were almost hip-deep in the squelching mire, but struggled onward for six hours until, in the face of a shattering machine-gun fire, they were ordered to withdraw temporarily. Then reinforcements were brought up, the waves reorganized, the Canadians advanced again and yard by yard the semi-liquid slope was breasted. Pill-box after pill-box was cleared until the crest of the spur was reached and passed. In the British offensive of June–October, which as a whole took in the Messines, Wytschaete, Zonnebeke, Pilken and Passchendaele Ridges, the Canadians had captured the last-mentioned after taking Meetchele Village in a notable preliminary action.

This fighting on the outposts of Flanders gave the Corps new reputation and the French press could not say too

much of the initiative, persistence and cool courage shown. General Currie wrote Sir G. Perley on November 7 that: "The situation was that certain tactical features had to be taken. Canadians were brought to do the job; so far they have done it mighty well." The Canadian Cavalry, chiefly Fort Garry Horse, which aided General Byng at Cambrai, performed some work on November 20 which ranked with the best exploits of the kind in Empire history — one squadron charging upon and capturing an enemy battery and racing two miles into the enemy lines over infantry and other obstacles, and then fighting its way back, or the 43 who remained did, through guns and soldiers to Masnieres. It may be added that Canadian casualties were reported as 13,000 at Vimy Ridge, 10,000 in the fighting of June, July and August, 10,000 at Hill 70 and 24,000 at Passchendaele. The chief Army appointment of the year was Brig.-Gen. E. W. B. Morrison, D.S.O., as Canadian Artillery Corps Commander in succession to Maj.-Gen. Burstall; Brig.-Gen. A. H. Macdonell, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., retired from active service. In September Walter A. Willison was named as Canadian Press representative with the troops in succession to Stewart Lyon, who had held the post for about a year.

CHAPTER X

THE YEAR OF VICTORY — 1918

DURING the last phases of the War in France and Belgium there were about 160,000 Canadians at the Front, including an Army Corps of four infantry Divisions of 80,000 men under command of Sir Arthur Currie; a Canadian Cavalry Brigade 3,000 strong under General Seely, and, after the middle of the year, Brig.-Gen. R. W. Paterson, D.S.O.; numerous and effectively organized line of communication units, railway, forestry, engineer, medical, ambulance, sanitary, veterinary, dental, salvage, and other Services. The Divisional commanders of the Infantry were as follows: Maj.-Gen. Sir A. C. Macdonell, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., First Division; Maj.-Gen. Sir H. E. Burstall, K.C.B., C.M.G., Second Division; Maj.-Gen. F. O. Loomis, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Third Division; Maj.-Gen. Sir David Watson, K.C.B., C.M.G., Fourth Division. Headquarters officials included Brig.-Gen. R. J. L. Hayter, C.M.G., D.S.O., Brig.-Gen. G. J. Farmer and Maj.-Gen. W. B. Lindsay, C.M.G., D.S.O.; the Artillery commander was Maj.-Gen. E. W. B. Morrison, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., and his five Divisional corps commanders were Brigadiers-General H. C. Thacker, C.M.G., D.S.O., H. A. Panet, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., J. S. Stewart, C.M.G., D.S.O., W. B. M. King, C.M.G., D.S.O., W. O. H. Dodds, C.M.G.; the Machine Gun Corps was commanded by Brig.-Gen. R. Brutinel, C.M.G., D.S.O., and the Canadian representative at General Headquarters was Brig.-Gen. J. F. L. Embury, C.M.G., D.S.O.; the Railway troops were led by Brig.-Gen. J. W. Stewart, C.B., C.M.G., and the Army Medical Services by Brig.-Gen. A. T. Ross, C.B., C.M.G.; the Siberian Expeditionary Force was commanded by Maj.-Gen. J. H. Elmsley, C.B., C.M.G., and Brig.-Gen. H. C. Bickford, C.M.G.. The

Infantry Brigade commanders in France and Flanders were as follows:

Brig.-Gen. W. A. Griesbach, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-Gen. G. S. Tuxford, C.B., C.M.G.
Brig.-Gen. George E. McCuaig, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-Gen. T. L. Tremblay, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-Gen. Alex. Ross, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-Gen. J. A. Clark, D.S.O.
Brig.-Gen. D. C. Draper, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-Gen. D. M. Ormond, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-Gen. J. M. Ross, C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-Gen. Victor W. Odlum, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
Brig.-Gen. J. H. MacBrien, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

The Canadian Force had in its three years of fighting maintained its identity better than any other army corps at the front; the press of a whole Continent had contributed to increase its meed of public appreciation; its own people showed the American liking for publicity and a not unnatural aversion to the military censorship — which inevitably made some mistakes. Canadian troops, therefore, received much praise; they deserved it all and more, but they were the first to resent the statement that they were the best troops in the field — a continuous battle ground where all were brave to the limit of human life and endurance. But Canadians did undoubtedly unite dash and initiative, in the later part of the war, with discipline, and the combination was exceptional; they worked hard, fought stubbornly and with typical British confidence never doubted the outcome; they were clean and smart in appearance, proud of themselves and their country in a self-respecting and assured way. Writing on March 8, 1918, to F. B. McCurdy, M.P., General Currie stated that: "We look back on the year 1917 with a great deal of pride, feeling quite sure that in that period the Canadian Corps more than did its share in helping to win the war. It seemed like one continuous battle, and one continuous series of successes. What is an interesting thing to me is that during 1917 the battle casualties were less than during 1916"—

excluding the Fourth Division, which was an addition to the forces in 1917. During 1918 the Canadian Corps was destined to do more than even in the preceding year. At first it was a deliberate and sustained policy of harassing and worrying the enemy with raids of all kinds and in all degrees of surprise attack and successful action. These were months of hard work and bitter trench fighting, also, along the British and French lines, of preparation and waiting, of bombardment and bombing, of ærial fighting and preliminary efforts of every kind to minimize or neutralize the tremendous shock of German attack which became inevitable when the superiority of numbers passed from the Allies to the Teutons and the vast resources of the Austrian eastern front became apparently available to the enemy. The Canadians did not take an active part in meeting the first German aggressive — the great shock of arms which brought the enemy so near Paris and so near the Coast. They were, however, moved about a good deal; they saw considerable minor fighting; they had a record from April to June which was officially recorded as follows:

April	1	Canadian cavalry brigade aided in capture of Moreuil and wood to north of it.
	5	Canadians repulsed raids on Vimy-Arras front.
	11	Canadians under heavy artillery bombardment repulsed attack at Vimy and won ground in raids.
	22	Canadians defeated Germans in big gas attack north of Lens.
	25–28	Canadians in series of trench raids at Vimy.
	29	Canadians attacked Germans at Lens; took prisoners and machine guns.
May	3	Bombardment opened on the Lys river. Canadians in successful operation.
	7	Successful Canadian raid at Neuville. Canadians took over part of the line south of Arras, embracing Neuville-Vitasse, Mercatil, and Boisleux-St. Marc.
	27	Raids by Canadians.
	28	Canadian cavalry cleared the Germans from advantageous positions in small woods south of the river Luce.
	28	Heavy fighting south of Arras on the 21st of the month. Operations of the Canadian Corps.
	29	Heavy bombardment on the Canadian front (Arras-Lens). Enemy lines raided.

June 6 Ontario troops harassed the enemy in region south of Arras.
25 Canadians raided enemy trenches south of the Scarpe.
30 Canadian forces were once again in the front line and continually harassing the enemy.

Meanwhile the Corps was intensely anxious to get into the real battles of that great period and by the anniversary of the fourth year of War conditions permitted of their more active participation — encouraged by a message from General Currie in which, with characteristic earnestness, he reviewed the past few years of achievement and added: "Then, we turn our minds to the future with confidence born of past success, with unshakeable belief in the justice of our cause, with unfaltering faith in God, who alone giveth victory, we pledge ourselves afresh to the work in hand, the fight for freedom, righteousness, and humanity." After months of training and desultory fighting they were deemed ready for the new style of open warfare which had replaced the trench system in which they had originally been trained. F. A. McKenzie, a trustworthy correspondent, dealt with the subject as follows on August 10: "I was with the Corps during part of the period of preparation, and it was impossible then to fully describe the revolutionized methods. The troops had to be physically fit to endure entirely different conditions from trench warfare, accustoming themselves afresh to long marches and rapid movements. The artillery equipment was partly transformed, the greatest attention being given to mobile guns and mortars, which could be brought forward in carts over almost any ground: emplacements constructed instantly, and guns made ready for action."

The result was that between August 8–10 the Canadians advanced as part of the forces in the great Battle of Amiens with perfect confidence in their leaders. Organization and staff were alike excellent and the troops amply backed by an enormous force of aeroplanes and whippet tanks. They captured many prisoners — 6,000 on the first day, with

every gun in sight — and in conjunction with the Australian forces took Meharicourt, Bonchoir, Lihons, Rancourt, Proyart, Warvilliers, and Beaufort. All objectives were attained and the artillery in particular distinguished itself. Between the 12th and 17th a new drive forward was made south of Villers-Brétonneux to the Avre, and in conjunction with British and French forces considerable gains were made — including the capture of Parvillers and Damery on the road to Roye. To the Corps came congratulations from Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig upon its successful carrying out of these operations, while Lieut.-Gen. Sir Henry Rawlinson of the Fourth British Army, under whom it was now serving, issued this statement: "I desire to place on record my sincere appreciation of the conspicuous and highly successful part played by the Canadian Force in the battle of August 8. The task allotted to them was not easy, especially on the right, where the initial attack was delivered under special difficulty. The need for secrecy which necessitated the assembly of the force by night in an area previously unknown to them enhanced the difficulties, especially when the front line had of necessity to be held by other troops. The determination with which all obstacles were overcome, the dash and gallantry with which the assault was delivered, and the precision with which each advance was made exactly on scheduled time reflect the highest credit both on the staff arrangements and the fine fighting spirit of all units which took part in the operation."

Other messages poured in, while the London *Times'* correspondent on August 27 said of this battle: "On the main battle front the honour of the first advance was shared by the Australians and Canadians. In structure it was chiefly a Canadian battle. It was their advance on the Luce that was the core and crux of the operation, and on their progress depended the advance of both the Australians on their left and that of the successive French armies on their right, each of which was thrown in only as the advance above it

prospered. The Canadians are right, I think, in claiming that the fighting of those first two days was the biggest thing Canada has done in the War." In these operations, ending August 17, 10,000 prisoners, 150 guns, thousands of machine guns and 22 towns were captured by the Canadians. Following this the Corps was moved by a wide *detour* march or transport over 100 miles from the vicinity of Roye to that of Arras.

On August 26–27 an important new advance followed southeast of Arras. Wancourt, Guemappe and Monchy-le-Preux were captured and all objectives reached, while on the next three days the Corps pressed on toward a point on the Hindenburg Line called the Drocourt-Queant switch of the Wotan defensive system. At this juncture the Corps was fighting side by side with Scottish troops, and on the 28th captured Pelves and Boiry-Notre Dame. By September 1 the advance was following the Cambrai road and nearing the Drocourt-Queant line with its trenches protected by powerful and inter-laced belts of wire with barbs an inch long, commanded by ferro-concrete positions every 100 yards — each holding machine guns with "pill-boxes" and other guns in between these positions; it was stated that this part of the line was held by seven Prussian and Bavarian divisions. General Currie had under his immediate command two Canadian divisions and in the final assault was supported by portions of four greatly depleted English divisions — London, Lancashire, Naval and Lowland. Between them on the 2nd, with the Canadians well to the front, the greatest German position from Cambrai to the Belgian Coast was taken in a few hours' fighting and the villages or rather Hindenburg fortifications of Dury, Villers-les-Cagnicourt and Cagnicourt captured and held by the Canadians.

With characteristic British generosity the London press gave all the credit of the great victory to the Canadians. As the *Daily Chronicle* put it so did the other leading

dailies: "The Hun switch line west of Arras which defends Queant and Douai has been completely broken through by the Canadians on a front of six miles. It is a remarkable military feat, for the position comprised one of the most formidable, if not the most formidable, defences which the enemy possessed." F. M. Sir Douglas Haig in his official report stated that: "On September 2 the Drocourt-Queant line was broken, the maze of trenches at the junction of that line and the Hindenburg system was stormed and the enemy was thrown into precipitate retreat on the whole front to the south of it. This gallant feat of arms was carried out by the Canadian Corps of the First Army, employing the First and Fourth Canadian Divisions and the Fourth English Division, and the 17th Corps of the Third Army, employing the 52nd, 57th and 63rd Divisions. The assault of the Canadians was launched at 5 A. M. on a front of about four and one-half miles south of the Trinquis Brook, our infantry being supported by 40 tanks of the Third Tank Brigade and assisted by a mobile force of motor machine-gun units, Canadian cavalry and armoured cars. The attack was a complete success, and by noon the whole of the elaborate system of wire, trenches and strong points constituting the Drocourt-Queant line on the front of our advance was in our hands."

The enemy retreated to the Canal du Nord position, where, as the Canadians advanced, they had to meet and repulse fierce German counter-attacks. Between the 15th and 23rd of September there were several assaults by the Corps along this Canal in which one position was taken and re-taken four times and the Canadians were under practically continuous shell-fire. Cherisy was taken, the Bois du Sort stormed, and at Vis-en-Artois the Canadians stood further east on the Scarpe sector than had any Allied troops since 1914. On the 27th the famous Bourlon Wood, of 1917 and British battle effort, was captured and the Canal du Nord crossed under support of a great concen-

tration of Imperial artillery fire. This part of the line, like that of Drocourt, was considered impregnable, but when the attack was once made the Canadians and their British comrades went through and over everything, and the former in one day penetrated five miles beyond and captured many prisoners and guns. A memorable feature of the Canal crossing (125 feet wide and 45 feet deep) was a bridge of tanks with fighting tanks crossing on their backs.

This advance brought the Canadians and the British Naval division into the outskirts of Cambrai and included the capture of Ossy le Berger, Epiney, Haynecourt, Marquin, Sailly, and other fortress-like villages. During two months' fighting the Canadian Corps had, in fact, captured 69 towns and villages from the German armies. The Battle of Cambrai which followed was a desperate conflict and Canadian troops declared it to be the hardest fighting they had faced in France. So with the nearby English divisions. On October 9 Cambrai was finally entered after the Canadians had captured Cuvillers and the Neuville, St. Remy and Ramillies suburbs of the city. As to this series of struggles General Sir David Watson reported to the Minister of Militia at Ottawa (Toronto *Star*, November 5): "I find that there were no less than thirteen divisions, consisting of eighty-four battalions, pitted against us during the first terrible days. The Boche actually threw division against division, and unit after unit, regardless of cost, in his attempt to stop our victorious progress. It was the hardest fighting that our Canadians have been up against, and the manner in which they took these terrible gruellings and assaults is one of the most creditable occurrences in the annals of this great war." Meantime, on October 3, General Currie had issued a Special Order to his Corps:

> I wish to express to all troops now fighting in the Canadian Corps my high appreciation of the splendid fighting qualities displayed by them in the successful battle of the last five days. The mission

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

A Line of Stalwart Canadian–Highlanders Are Moving Up to the Attack on Cambrai in the Early Morning

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Wounded Canadians Awaiting Transportation to the Rear

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Young Canadian Viewing the Promised Land

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Cambrai and the Gates of Pearl

assigned to the Corps was the protection of the flank of the Third and Fourth Armies in their advance, and that mission has been carried out to the complete satisfaction of the Commander-in-Chief. As you formed the flank, you suffered enfilade and frontal artillery fire all the way, and the hundreds of machine guns captured testifies to the violence of the opposition from that source. Every evidence confirms the fact that the enemy suffered enormous casualties. He fought stubbornly and well and for that reason your victory is the more creditable. You have taken in this battle over 7,000 prisoners and 200 field and heavy guns, thus bringing the total captures of the Canadian Corps since August 8 of this year to 28,000 prisoners, 500 guns, over 3,000 machine guns, and a large amount of stores of all kinds. Even of greater importance than these captures stands the fact that you have wrested 69 towns and villages and over 175 square miles of French soil from the defiling Hun. In the short period of two months the Canadian Corps — to which were attached the 32nd Division for the Battle of Amiens, the 4th and the 51st Divisions for the Battle of Arras, and the 11th Division for this Battle of Cambrai — has encountered and defeated decisively 47 German Divisions; that is, nearly a quarter of the total German forces on the Western front. The victories you have achieved are the fruit of the iron discipline you accepted freely, and of the high standard you have reached in the technical knowledge of your arms, and the combined tactical employment of all your resources. I am proud of your deeds, and I want to record here my heartfelt thanks for your generous efforts, and my unbounded confidence in your ability to fight victoriously and crush the enemy wherever and whenever you meet him.

On October 9 the Corps were the first to enter Cambrai and took possession after a night attack of careful organization and keen fighting. Meanwhile a Canadian and English force had gone further south and effected the capture of Le Cateau (October 10) after working through

and taking a number of villages. The main Canadian body then advanced under easier conditions but still battling steadily, shared the occupation of Douai with other British troops, captured a series of villages and on October 20 entered Denain — Sir Arthur Currie having the Prince of Wales on his staff. It may be added here that H. R. H. Prince Albert and Prince Arthur of Connaught were from time to time attached to the Canadian General's Staff. Four days later the Corps fought a severe battle for the Scheldt Canal north of Valenciennes — after marching over thirty miles of indescribable roads — and then, with the British forces, attacked on á six-mile front south of that famous city. Within a week the Corps captured twenty-eight towns and villages in this region and its commissariat fed over 70,000 people freed from German bondage. Finally, on November 2 Canadian troops, supported by a British Army Corps, captured and entered Valenciennes. The advance then continued with the capture of a number of towns and villages, until on November 11 a final struggle was fought out for the possession of Mons which then fell to the Canadians and, on the day the Armistice was signed and the war ended, British troops from a far-distant Dominion entered the famous city from which, in August, 1914, at the beginning of the war, British troops of the United Kingdom had been driven by the huge German war-machine. With the Canadians was a British Lancer Regiment which fought in that original battle. Out of Mons in the brief days of the Canadian occupation came a message from General Sir Arthur Currie to the Canadian people, which deserves to live in history:

> From the doubly historic battle-field of Mons, and on the eve of its departure for the Rhine, the Canadian Corps acknowledges, with a sense of deepest gratitude, your message sent on behalf of the people of Canada. We join with them in humble and grateful thanks to God for the glorious victory vouchsafed to our arms. Our hearts go out

> to those to whom there remains only the cherished memory of their loved and lost, sacrificed in the noblest cause for which men have died. Weary with work of destruction, we long for the time when we shall be homeward bound to take up again with a clearer conception of its responsibilities, our duties as citizens of the fairest land in all the world, our own beloved Canada.

The War was practically over but there followed the march of Canadian and British and French and American troops to the Rhine. General Currie led a part of his troops into Germany and on December 4 they crossed the historic and long-hoped for German river and for a period occupied the University city of Bonn and the still greater city of Cologne; another portion remained at Mons for a time. In the spring the different Divisions gradually left Belgium and Germany and were shipped home from England. In this connection, as already indicated in the preceding narrative, it may be said that the Canadian Divisions were not always a unit in the fighting. One or two or three Divisions may have shared in any one incident dealt with — not necessarily all of them. As the town council of Mons put it in a proclamation issued at a memorable juncture: "The Third Canadian Division, at the price of many sacrifices, penetrated the city at 3 o'clock in the morning, avenging thus by a brilliant success the retreat of 1914. Glory and gratitude to it." A Special Order, also, was issued by General Currie to his Corps which was enthusiastic to a degree:

> During four long years, conscious of the righteousness of your cause, you have fought many battles and endured cruel hardships, and now your mighty efforts are rewarded; your fallen comrades are avenged. You have demonstrated on the battle-field your superior courage and unfaltering energy. By the will of God you have won, won, won. Marching triumphantly through Belgium, you will be received everywhere as liberators, but

> the kindness and generosity of the population must not cause any relaxation of your discipline or alertness. Your task is not yet completed, and you must remain what you are, the close-knitted army in grim, deadly earnest. It is essential that on the march and at the halt discipline must be of the highest standard. Beginning by the immortal stand at the Second Battle of Ypres, you befittingly closed, by the capture of Mons, your fighting record in which every battle you fought is a resplendent page of glory.

During this long struggle the total casualties of the Canadian Corps were 216,146, in which the deaths numbered 57,258 — 35,684 killed in action, 12,437 died of wounds and 4,057 died of disease, with 5,080 presumed dead or finally missing. The total of the wounded was 155,830; the troops who died in Canada and not included in the total casualties were 2,287. About 2,800 Canadians were taken prisoners during the War — most of them at St. Julien. Half as many Canadians died in 1918 of the influenza epidemic as were killed at the Front by the Germans. As to the rest this great little army of the Empire distinguished itself in many ways apart from the courage and fighting skill which their Commander summed up in a cable to J. H. Woods, President of the Canadian Press Association: "In the last two years of strenuous fighting it has never lost a gun, has never failed to take an objective and has never been driven from an inch of ground once consolidated, while its casualties among the rank and file bear the smallest percentage in proportion to its strength of all the British forces." Their initiative was shown in directions which may be briefly summarized* as follows: (1) They were the first to construct light railways behind the firing line, and to use this means of transportation in conveying troops, munitions and supplies to the trenches as well as in carrying wounded to the rear; (2) they were the first to lay down

* Condensed from an able review in the Toronto *News* by F. D. L. Smith, September 10, 1918.

plank roads in order to carry heavy trucks and guns through the quagmires of Flanders and France; (3) they were the first to substitute temporary, lightly-constructed waggon roads in place of the permanent highways in favour with the other Allies; (4) they were the first to originate trench raids for the purpose of breaking the enemy's *morale,* and obtaining necessary information regarding any opposing enemy forces; (5) they were the first to organize machine-gun batteries and to use machine guns in indirect fire — that is to say, against invisible objects; (6) they were the first to combat the disease known as trench-feet with any considerable success, and they invented the alkali bath to neutralize the poisonous effects of mustard gas; (7) they were the first of all the Allied armies to establish a Dental Corps and to introduce a delousing plant to rid the soldiers' clothing of insects.

In the Services, apart from Infantry, Canada had also a proud record. The most conspicuous was probably that of Aviation, in which a quite remarkable and largely individual place was won. Yet Canadians had no distinct Air organization, no centre for separate achievement and reputation, no Corps such as had won distinction for Australia in the East. They simply took to the Air as the English have done to the sea, and by individual effort, voluntary action and initiative swarmed into the British service until both the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service recognized a peculiar aptitude in the splendid work rendered by Canadians while fighting side by side with their British brothers. The Canadian Army Corps was complete except in this one branch and there were plenty of aviators in the latter years of the War to form Canadian squadrons, but for some reason or other Sir Sam Hughes did not approve, and though, after he ceased to be Minister, much was done in Canada to encourage the Imperial enlistment of aviators and to facilitate Imperial construction of machines and training of men, nothing was done in the

organization of a Corps. It was estimated at the end of 1917 that 1,000 Canadians had joined the R. N. A. S., and 3,000 the R. F. C. — as officers and pilots, mechanicians and assistants. An official statement in London on August 11 of that year was that 299 officers and 409 privates coming to England in the Canadian forces had been granted commissions in the R. F. C., with 93 others of Canadian birth; that 346 officers joined the R. N. A. S. in Canada under arrangements organized by Admiral Kingsmill, while 66 others had joined this service and been transferred to the Flying Corps; that 80 members of the Canadian Military forces had been granted commissions in the Naval Air Service — a total of 1,293 officers. The total number of Canadians joining the R. N. A. S. and the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Air Force, into which they were absorbed, was 12,902.

In the individual success attained the central figure was Fl.-Lieut. and, eventually, Lieut.-Colonel William Avery Bishop, who, within a few months in 1917–18, won the V. C. and D. S. O. and Bar, the M. C. and D. F. C. A son of Owen Sound, in Ontario, his career was to Canada what that of Alfred Ball was to England or Guynemer to France or Richthofen to Germany. Hobbs, Mulock, Hallam, Knight, Leckie, Collishaw, Hervey, Fall, Fisher, Shearman, Rosevear, Hamilton Gault of the Princess Patricia's — after he had lost a leg on Infantry service — Maclaren, Anderson, were other names in the galaxy of Canadian Aviation fame. As to the Cavalry Brigade a volume of the most thrilling character might be written. In 1918 they were greatly distinguished at the River Luce during the three first days of the Somme battle, in the Cambrai offensive they lived again the best traditions of the British Army. Canadian armoured cars, and Tanks manned by Canadian troops, did splendid work, while the record of the machine-gun sections was equal to the best on the Allied front — and no greater praise could be given. The Sifton, Borden, Eaton and Yukon Batteries formed a great fighting brigade in the last year of the War. Of the Canadian

Artillery in general under Major-General E. W. B. Morrison many and high tributes were paid during all the years of the War.

The Forestry battalions were conspicuous for good work in England and France and close up to the Front, with the personality of Brig.-Gen. Alex McDougall as a great factor in their success. In England they provided the vital war-force of 300,000 tons of sawn lumber a year and 5,000,000 tons of mining timber cut in one period of 12 months. Lord Derby in a letter to Sir Edward Kemp stated in the spring of 1918 that: "It is largely due to the operations of the units of this Corps in France that we have practically stopped the shipment of British-grown timber to France, thus saving cross-channel tonnage, while we are also enabled to save the shipment of foreign timber by having the production of the Corps in England to meet the various national demands." In July of this year it was stated that 40 of these Forestry Companies were then working in Great Britain and 60 in France with a total of 30,000 men employed and 100,000,000 feet of lumber delivered to the authorities in France up to date. Equally effective was the splendid Transport system between Canada and England as initiated by Sir A. H. Harris, late of the C. P. R. and managed by him throughout the War; so with the Canadian Railway troops who laid lines of track right up to or behind the trenches and, when the period of moving battles came, provided the light and rapidly constructed transport systems by which the Canadians, and in some cases the British soldiers and the French, retired or advanced. At times they threw down their tools to fight the approaching enemy — as in the first Cambrai struggle and in the 1918 attack on the Somme.

Much might be said of the Engineers with their multitude of bridges — pontoon, trestle, heavy pontoon and heavy steel — erected under every trying condition of haste and enemy fire, of rush materials and supplies, crowds of wounded men, ever-moving masses of artillery

and troops. The Canadian victory of Bourlon Wood was essentially an Engineers' battle and it depended upon the speed and the manner in which the crossings of the Canal du Nord were provided. The Medical Corps, Hospital surgeons and nurses, the C. A. M. C., as it was technically termed, was in a class by itself. The heroism of Canadian nurses was amply proved in the loss of the Llandovery Castle, in the bombardment of Étâples Hospital, in the tremendous work and strain of a thousand battles, and so with the physicians in a myriad of cases and during many conflicts. As to skill, No. I General Hospital on the French Coast and No. III (McGill) at Boulogne made a specialty of broken or injured femur bones, while the avoidance of all epidemics or plagues, the treatments for typhoid and trench fever, anti-tetanus inoculation, the general development of sanitation, chlorination, and bacteriological science were elements of great importance in the life of the Corps. So with the splendid Ambulance system and its gallant stretcher-bearers subject, like the doctors, to constant enemy fire and frequent casualties. The Chaplain Service was brave, sympathetic and a powerful influence for cheer and good-feeling. It controlled and guided the entertainment and recreation programme for the whole Corps, assisted by the Y. M. C. A., Salvation Army and other organizations. Food and cigarette canteens, coffee stalls, athletics, games and matches were amongst the matters handled, besides religious services and funerals. Financially, between 1915 and March 31, 1918, the Service received $3,450,091 and expended $3,122,153; during three weeks' operations around Passchendaele the distribution included 1½ tons of coffee, 1½ tons of sugar, 2,500 tins of milk, 15,000 packages of biscuits, 100,000 packages of cigarettes, 60,000 sheets of paper and 1,000 newspapers, etc.

In Dentistry the Canadian Army Dental Corps lead the way, and Sir Auckland Geddes stated to the British Dental Association during May, 1918, that "the whole of the British forces have only a little more than twice the number

of dentists belonging to the Canadian Army Dental Corps, while as to organization and administration the inferiority is equally manifest to those who are familiar with the details." Colonel J. A. Armstrong, C.M.G., was Director-General of the Corps and the value of its work to the health and stamina and *morale* of the troops was very great. The Canadian Salvage Corps was another institution of great value and its duty was to collect and conserve all discarded articles, with a view to their return to military stores and for disposal to the best advantage if unserviceable. In nine months ending February 28, 1918, $211,000 was saved in this way. Canadian Labour Battalions were also organized for general construction and repair work behind the lines with, also, availability for fighting in an emergency. It may be added that the cemeteries for those Canadians who passed away and out from this terrible crucible of war, scattered as they were all over the war area of France, were most religiously and carefully attended to with each man's name or number, rank or unit and date of death wherever possible. They were well kept and often beautifully decorated; the exact spot where every Canadian in France or Flanders lay buried was recorded in three official places. Let the words of R. J. C. Stead of Calgary provide a fitting farewell to the Canadian dead in these many battles and to this memorable page in Canadian history:

He saw not where his path should lead,
  Nor sought a path to suit his will;
He saw a nation in her need;
He heard the cause of Honour plead;
He heard the call, he gave it heed,
  And now he sleeps in Flanders.

Yet let this ray of light remain,
  Though darkness cut him from our view;
We know the sacrifice, the pain —
We cannot feel our faith in vain —
We know the loss, but not the gain
  Of those who sleep in Flanders.

CHAPTER XI

MUNITIONS OF WAR

THE making of Munitions was, in 1914, a special branch of a great industry — that of preparedness for war. Germany had enormous quantities ready for immediate use; its vast stores of cannon, big guns, artillery of every size and shape and degree and power required proportionate supplies of ammunition, shells, power, etc. Krupp's was the greatest of its national industries for years before the War; what were the subsidiary industries which provided food for all this artillery seemed to be unknown to the world. In Britain and Russia, when the crisis came, the supplies of guns and ammunition were equally and shamefully low. Just as the first British Army had four machine guns to the battalion where the Germans had fifteen or more, so Mr. Lloyd George, when he took hold of the new Munitions Department of Great Britain seven months afterwards, found that 2,500 high explosive shells daily were being turned out against 250,000 daily by the Germans.* Even France, in close touch with the seat of danger, was short of shells and big guns.

Canada's condition was excusable in the light of these facts and it was one of absolute negation at the beginning. There were no munitions made in the country and there never had been any of the slightest importance; the nearest and only approach to artillery was the Ross Rifle factory at Quebec and some slight production at the Dominion Arsenal there. At the same time the country was well

* Speech in Parliament on December 20, 1915. During these months, as in preceding years, Gen. Sir S. B. Von Donop, whom Lord Haldane, when Secretary of War, had described as "unrivalled in his technical knowledge," was Master-General of the Ordnance. His name and nationality are obvious.

suited for such an industry. Great iron and steel interests had obtained a footing, had received Government support in the way of bonuses on their production, had been provided with much private capital running up to 100 millions. In Nova Scotia the N. S. Steel and Coal Co. at New Glasgow and the Dominion Steel Corporation at Sydney had seven blast furnaces between them, with a daily capacity of 1,930 tons; eighteen open-hearth furnaces and two 15-ton Bessemer converters; in Ontario the Steel Company of Canada, with furnaces at Midland, the Canada Furnace Co., with furnaces at Port Colborne, the Standard Iron Co., with furnaces at Deseronto, had amongst them seven blast furnaces with a daily capacity of 900 tons. The greater part of the ore and all of the fuel for these furnaces were imported and they provided a steel-making capacity of about 350,000 tons per year. In the Lake Superior district there were the Algoma Steel Corporation with furnaces at Sault Ste. Marie, and the Atikokan Iron Co., with furnaces at Port Arthur, or four blast furnaces, with a capacity of 1,050 tons per day, five steel furnaces and two Bessemer converters. Altogether Canada had twenty-two blast furnaces with a paper capacity of 1,500,000 tons per year and a production, in 1914, of steel ingots and castings totalling 694,447 tons. Electric smelting — the making of ferro-products or steel in electric furnaces — was located at Buckingham in Quebec, Welland, Sault Ste. Marie, Toronto and Belleville in Ontario.

It cannot be said that conditions in this industry were prosperous in Canada during 1914, or even after the War had begun, and Germany, one of the great international factors in iron and steel, with an export trade in those products of about 300 million dollars a year, had been eliminated. As a matter of fact, and despite vast resources of coal and iron in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, or in the United States close to the Canadian Lake Superior region, the Canadian industry was producing 50 per cent. less than

it did ten years before, while the country was importing 250 per cent. more and had been building railways in every direction. Temporarily, indeed, concerns such as the Dominion Iron and Steel at Sydney and the Nova Scotia Company at New Glasgow had shut down part of their plants while the Sault Company was running on half time. At this point, two things happened. It was found (1) that large steel supplies for railways, hitherto obtained in Germany, would have to be purchased in Canada, or in Great Britain, or the United States; and (2) Colonel Hughes, Minister of Militia, called a meeting (September 2, 1914) in the Arsenal at Quebec to discuss the making of munitions and other war supplies into which iron and steel largely entered. The Minister had, already, drawn the attention of the British War Office to what he believed to be Canada's capacity in this respect and he now hoped to lay the basis for a large development. It cannot be said that the attendance at his meeting was such as the matter deserved but it was sufficient and a Canadian Shell Committee was at once appointed and composed, eventually, of Colonel Alex. Bertram, of John Bertram & Sons, Dundas (Chairman), Thos. Cantley, General Manager, N. S. Steel and Coal Co., New Glasgow, George W. Watts of the Canadian General Electric Co., Toronto, and E. Carnegie of the Welland Electric Steel and Metals Co., representing the manufacturers; Col. Thomas Benson, Master-General of the Ordnance, Col. C. Greville-Harston, Chief Inspector of Arms and Ammunition, J. W. Borden and Lieut.-Col. F. D. Lafferty, Superintendent of the Dominion Arsenal, representing the Department. David Carnegie of London, England, was added to the Committee as Ordnance Adviser and representative of the British War Office.

Practically no shells had yet been made in Canada but within four months of this meeting it was estimated that fifty Canadian manufacturers, large and small, were engaged in making shells for the British Government and it was

stated that nearly all of the Canadian steel companies had put in the plant necessary for the business, while all materials in use were the product of Canadian firms. The C. P. R., also, devoted its Angus shops at Montreal to this work and, within a few months, 10,000 men were busy there making munitions; later on the G. T. R. shops at Transcona were partially turned into a Munition factory. By March 12, 1915, a return presented to the Commons showed 200 factories engaged in the manufacture of shells with a copper driving band as the only component part not yet made in Canada. The contracts in hand were said to total $80,000,000. The first British contract had been for 200,000 shrapnel shells (empty) but the rapidity with which the manufacturers converted their factories to new uses convinced the Minister that complete, filled and fixed ammunition should be attempted — including shells, brass cartridge cases, primers, clips, cordite, powder, pellets and fuses. Within a few months all of these products, except fuses, were underway and, eventually, under successful construction.

According to a Report from the Shell Committee presented to Parliament by the Premier, on April 15, 1915, the Executive work had been entrusted to the Chairman, who reported weekly to the Minister of Militia. The Committee put before the War Office (through Mr. Carnegie) the possibilities of Canadian work in this connection; it investigated supplies of nitro-cellulose powder sent to Britain from the United States and certain supplies of rifles and ammunition for Russia; with the Minister it aided in the utilization of by-products from the coke ovens of the Dominion Iron and Steel Co. at Sydney, in the making of a new high explosive called Tri-nitro-toluol. British orders came in steadily and as the estimated profits on shrapnel, according to the N. Y. *Wall Street Journal,* ran from 25 to 40 per cent., there was every encouragement to operate. Orders were placed in the West as well as the East — Win-

nipeg and Vancouver and Victoria shared in the awards, as well as Toronto and Montreal. An $80,000,000 contract was obtained from Russia by the Canada Car and Foundry Co. of Montreal, and it included 5,000,000 shrapnel and howitzer shells with detailed conditions which afterwards were found very difficult to meet. Of this order $52,000,000 was at once sub-let in the United States; the balance was kept for Canadian concerns.

By the middle of 1915 British orders had been placed by the Shell Committee for 9,000,000 shells in number with subsidiary orders for 100,000 cartridge cases, a number of fuses, 2,000,000 primers and 1,000,000 friction tubes. Before awarding a contract, careful investigation was made as to the ability of the firm to carry out the particular work assigned to it. If there was any doubt as to the plant being suitable a competent Inspector was sent to report upon the condition of the factory. It was officially stated at this time that 130 firms, from Halifax to Vancouver, were engaged in the work of machining and assembling shells. Others were occupied in the manufacture of blanks, bullets, disks, cartridge cases, buck-shot, primers, tubes, tin cups for shrapnel, grub screws, sockets and plugs, steel base plates and boxes. Altogether no less than 247 factories were engaged in this work, in 78 cities and towns, and giving employment to between 60,000 and 70,000 artisans, with a total weekly wage-bill of $1,000,000. As a matter of fact Canada had delivered 250,000 shells in England before British factories, outside of Government arsenals, had got to work there; incidentally it may be said that the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Co. was the first in Canada to supply steel shell and shrapnel forgings. On June 11 Sir Robert Borden found it necessary to issue this statement as to shell contracts and the work of the Committee: "So far as purchases in Canada (other than those allotted to the Committee) by the British or Allied Governments are concerned they are made by representatives appointed by such Gov-

ernments without reference to the Government of Canada, which has no control over such matters and could not properly interfere therein. The Government of Canada has absolutely nothing whatever to do with purchases in the United States by the British or Allied Governments; it has no control over them and could not interfere with them."

Complaints commenced to be heard at this time as to allotment, or non-allotment, of contracts to small but reliable firms — a matter of more or less frequent discussion throughout the year. On June 12 the Minister of Militia stated to the press, in a characteristic interview, that: "The Shell Committee can place only such orders as it receives from the British authorities; it cannot go further. Moreover, I want to say, emphatically, that those manufacturers who, when first appealed to on patriotic grounds, equipped their premises and went into making shells, are entitled to the first orders. Concerns which have entered the field only when they saw there was money in it, but who, at first, held back and did nothing, are not entitled to any particular preference. We do not intend, either, to stand for any faking or farming out of contracts. Before a contract is made the Committee must be satisfied as to the men behind the industry and their ability to do the work." There were queries, also, as to why larger British orders, actually and proportionately, were given the United States than to Canada and the obvious answer was that both Britain and the Allies obtained financial privileges in New York which Canada did not then give them — to any large extent — banking credits and the purchase of securities upon a scale which Canadian resources did not seem to warrant. The Government did what was possible and, up to this time, had advanced $25,000,000 to finance purchases by the British, French and Russian Governments.

On June 22, 1915, Lord Curzon stated in the House of Lords that Canadian munition makers were not supplying complete shells and that deliveries from Canada were slow.

Fred. Nicholls of the Canadian General Electric Co., Toronto, replied on June 25, in the press, with the statement that early British orders had been too small to warrant serious investment in suitable machinery; that when the orders did come, in any large form, it was almost impossible to get machinery in the United States; that the War Office then seemed to have no real knowledge of the situation: "I, personally, forwarded a communication on October 7, 1914, to the War Office offering to invest two or three million dollars in a manufacturing plant for quick production, provided we received an order for one million shells, with the expectation that on receipt of this order we could immediately purchase the machinery, on which we had an option, and have been in a position to produce about 15,000 to 20,000 shells, daily, by April or May last, but I received an official letter from the War Office (November 13, 1914) advising me that no further supplies of ammunition were required and that I would not be warranted in proceeding to England to negotiate for a contract."

It seems clear from this experience of Mr. Nicholls and from similar incidents told by W. W. Butler of the Canada Car Co. and others, that either the War Office (or rather the Ordnance Department under General Von Donop) was still uncertain at the close of 1914 as to requirements at the Front or was doubtful of Canada's capabilities in the matter. Whatever the original difficulty the energetic Minister of Militia in Canada and changes in Britain which followed the accession of Mr. Lloyd George to the Ministry of Munitions, worked a revolution in the production of both countries. At the end of June, 1915, however, despite large preliminary production, matters in Canada were still in confusion with no new orders in sight, with not sufficient in hand to keep plants going even for incomplete shells; there also was increasing evidence that what the War Office must have under the new conditions was fixed or complete ammu-

nition. Estimates made on July 2 showed that $400,000,000 of orders, from all sources, for war equipment, supplies, material, etc.—not munitions alone — had been given Canada to date. On July 6 Senator Lougheed, Acting Minister of Militia, issued a statement that: "The situation in Great Britain has changed, and the industries of that country are in a position to turn out empty shells as rapidly as they can be converted into fixed ammunition for use at the Front. The British Government has advised the Shell Committee that they want fixed ammunition instead of empty shells, and do not require any more empty shells at present."

Following this (July 11) a number of manufacturers, representing nine of the leading firms in Canada (Canadian General Electric, Massey-Harris, Gurney, etc.), waited upon the Shell Committee at Ottawa and stated that as Great Britain was suffering from lack of high explosive shells, those present would undertake to invest large sums in machinery and equipment for producing shells in almost any quantities desired. It was also announced at this time that D. A. Thomas, M.P. (afterwards created Lord Rhondda), had been appointed by the British Government to visit Canada and re-arrange matters. Speaking in the British Commons (June 23) Mr. Lloyd George, the new Minister of Munitions, explained that the innumerable offers to supply shells, received from the United States and Canada, made this necessary. As to the duties of Mr. Thomas: "He will represent and exercise functions, on behalf of the Munitions Department, in Canada and the United States, and will be given full authority to discharge the responsible duties with which he is entrusted. Mr. Thomas will co-operate with the representatives of the Government, both in Canada and the United States of America. There is not the slightest idea of superseding the existing agencies there. They have worked admirably.

They have saved this country, I believe, millions of money."

During his visit to Canada in July and August Mr. Thomas declared that Canada had done wonders in the creation of 150 arsenals or munition factories in about a year and filling, or preparing to fill, British orders of 250 millions; he conferred with Canadian manufacturers and financiers with a view to the making of heavy guns in the Dominion, but the arrangements afterwards fell through; he declared that if Canada would complete orders expeditiously the British Government would guarantee it a large share of future business but added that, so far, the cost of shells had been greater in Canada than in other competitive centres and the delivery slow. By the autumn of 1915 329 firms and 90,000 skilled workmen were employed in this industry with $500,000,000 worth of orders placed, while Sir Sam Hughes stated, in Toronto on October 25, that 360 million pounds of steel had been turned into shells in Canada to date. Following the reports made by Mr. Thomas arrangements were completed at this time between the Dominion and British Governments, by which the Shell Committee — described by Mr. Thomas Cantley as "probably the biggest business in the Empire" — was to be merged into a new body called the Imperial Munitions Board. On November 29, accordingly, the resignation of the Canadian Shell Committee was announced at Ottawa with the appointment of the new Board as a purely British organization. Of it Sir Sam Hughes was appointed Hon. President; J. W. Flavelle, the well-known manufacturer and financier of Toronto, was Chairman with executive and administrative powers; Major-General Alex. Bertram was Deputy Chairman. The other members were Col. David Carnegie of London and Ottawa, G. H. Dawson, Victoria, Charles B. Gordon, Montreal, J. A. Vallaincourt, President of La Banque d'Hochelaga, Montreal, and E. R. Wood, Toronto. F. Perry, a South African mining expert and one-

time Colonial Office official, was added a little later to act as intermediary between the British Minister and the Board.

It was semi-officially announced at this time (1) that shells could now be successfully and profitably manufactured in Canada and that, instead of holding back, there was a keen competition on the part of manufacturers to secure contracts; (2) that the volume of orders placed in Canada had grown at a very rapid rate, and the output both of shell cases and component parts had increased so largely as to require a more highly oganized department to ensure efficient co-ordination and prompt deliveries; (3) that it was proper this Committee should contain an infusion of steel manufacturers whose advice and experience were necessary to the development of the new industry; (4) that in the short space of 14 months the Shell Committee, with the active encouragement and support of General Sir Sam Hughes, had developed the largest industry in the whole of the Dominion; (5) that it had been the means, also, of bringing into being certain important industries, subsidiary to shell-making, which would have a permanent effect in developing the resources of the country.

Electric refining of zinc, copper refining, the making of brass and manufacture of explosives such as nitro-cellulose, tri-nitro-toluol and sabulite were amongst the new industries thus established. At the close of 1915 the monthly output was over one million shells valued at 30 million dollars; orders had been received for 22,800,000 shells of which 2,000,000 fixed and 6,000,000 empty shells had been shipped; there were 422 munition plans at work while the value of munitions and war material up to the close of 1914 had been $28,164 and of 1915 $57,213,688. For the fiscal year ending March 31, 1916, the total of manufactured exports from Canada was 250 millions or nearly four times more than it was in 1914. The production must have

greatly grown in the next six months as the total manufactured exports for the year ending September 30 was 361 millions. In other words Canada was shipping, near the close of 1916, 40 millions a month of manufactured goods in comparison with a little over 5 millions a month before the War. Obviously a large and important munition industry was in effective operation and the seed planted by Sir Sam Hughes at the meeting late in 1914 had grown to a great tree of many branches — with an export of munitions and war products finally found to total $296,505,257 for the year ending December 31.

What the Minister had sown the Shell Committee had watered and the Imperial Munitions Board cultivated. In all these cases, and no matter what the mistakes, or delays, or personal controversies, or political charges, there can be no doubt that good work was done. There was lethargy to overcome — a sort of inertia — which Canadian manufacturers were not alone in showing when home demands were considerable and prices good and the local market carefully protected; there was a widespread expectation at first that the War would not last six months and that any expenditure of time, money and labour in obtaining plant and machinery for the making of shells would be either wasted or profitless; there was, of course, absolute ignorance as to many phases of an industry which took time to win its place on Canadian soil. These preliminary elements of difficulty General Hughes overcame and the men he surrounded himself with put their plants, as well as their personal influence and exertions, at his disposal. They made considerable profits in the end; it was at first quite doubtful what the outcome eventually would be. Thomas Cantley of the N. S. Steel and Coal Co. was particularly alert and his Company reaped large advantages. Technically, it may not have been desirable for the Commission to grant large contracts to its own members; practically, it was the only way to get things going; once the ball was started rolling

it went over obstacles with greater ease than had been expected and prolongation of the War soon made large profits possible and a fair proportion of them legitimate. Then, the lethargy, which had been steadily dissipating, vanished entirely, every kind of person wanted to make shells, every machine shop desired to be a factory, every one with buildings or machinery which could be utilized in this connection, and many who had nothing better to offer than ambition to turn a profitable corner, urged the Commission and the Minister and the Government to give them contracts.

Many difficulties had developed as the months passed and may be summarized here. An initial obstacle in the War Office's objection to Canadian basic steel as a substitute for acid steel in making shells had been overcome; factories and machinery and investment were, at first, organized for the making of empty shells; then the British Government commenced speeding up its own operations and it was presently announced that loaded shells must be supplied by Canada; then the making of high explosive shells was undertaken and still more changes in the industry required; then trouble arose over the making of fuses and the fact that the machinery for that purpose had long since been bought up and ordered for months ahead in the United States. In this latter connection the Shell Committee made a contract in June, 1915, with the International Arms and Fuse Co. and the American Ammunition Co. for the purchase of 2,500,000 fuses and this was ratified by Colonel Hughes, Minister of Militia, on behalf of the British Government under powers previously given. A multitude of other contracts had been given during these years and myriads of applications for contracts handled by the Committee or referred to them by the Minister. In the House of Commons on March 28, however, G. W. Kyte (Liberal) made a long statement charging that this particular contract involved large and improper commissions to certain

American promoters — B. F. Yoakum, E. W. Bassick and E. B. Caldwell — and that J. Wesley Allison, a close friend of the Minister of Militia, was a financial go-between in this affair and a beneficiary in these commissions. It was a long story but this is a sufficient summary. No direct charge was made against General Hughes but there were plenty of indirect charges or insinuations in succeeding party speeches and journalistic comments. Sir Robert Borden at once cabled the Minister to come back from England and announced a Royal Commission of Inquiry composed of Chief Justice Sir W. R. Meredith and Mr. Justice L. P. Duff. The ensuing investigation was long and dreary in detail and much of the evidence sordid and unpleasant in character. The final Report of the Commissioners was submitted on July 20. In this document, after dealing with the history of the matter, the Commissioners pointed out the practical impossibility at that time of obtaining or making these fuses in Canada; stated that they found no fault with the terms of the contract in question or the price of the time fuses, though they found the price of the graze fuses excessive; dealt with the Allison charges and commission payments, or orders, to him of $195,000 and his evidence generally. The summary on this important point was as follows:

> We are compelled to the conclusion that Allison's explanation cannot be accepted, and to find that, while professing to be acting as the friend of General Hughes and to be doing what he did solely out of friendship for him, and without any expectation or intention of receiving any remuneration for his services, Allison was instrumental in bringing about a contract in which, through his agreement with Yoakum of February, 1915, he was pecuniarily interested, with the knowledge that he would be entitled to share equally with Yoakum in any benefit that Yoakum might receive, either by way of commission or otherwise.

As to the Minister: "General Hughes had nothing to do with the making of the (Allison-Yoakum) contract or with the request that Colonel Carnegie made to Allison; and indeed, so far as appears from the evidence, knew nothing about the transaction being entered into or contemplated." It was obvious in the whole document that the Commissioners did not believe the Minister to have had any improper knowledge of, or part in, this contract matter. None-theless it was an unpleasant incident and brought into a full glare of publicity the inevitable errors and weaknesses of inexperienced men dealing with great new problems, controlling a business equal to the largest on the continent, managing a vast number of intricate transactions which involved the total expenditure of hundreds of millions of money. That this investigation could pass with no reflection on the personal honesty of the members of the Shell Commission or of the Minister of Militia was a conspicuous outcome of the inquiry. Eliminating the public discussion of the charges and the sordidness interjected by outside financial promoters, commission seekers and would-be corruptionists, there remained a most interesting story of difficulties overcome in Canada and with the War Office and Canadians individually; of vital and hurried demands met under conditions of strain and stress; of a great business established and carried on with obvious success and conspicuous results by a group of men who were new to the game, who learned wisdom by their mistakes, and turned occasional defeat into final victory.

Another chapter had opened in the creation of the Imperial Munitions Board. Its policy at first was to purchase directly the raw materials of every description which were required and these were passed on from one contractor to another, each being paid successively for his labour. This plan saved the contractor large investments of capital otherwise necessary to produce complete shells and, at the same time, ensured a proper distribution of the materials

available so that the maximum production might be secured. Contractors were given the opportunity to pay for their necessary investment of capital through the profits derived from their contracts. Subsequently the business was placed upon a competitive basis. The operations of the Board therefore covered every kind of war material and its officials explored and made available for war purposes natural resources hitherto undeveloped. Industries new to Canada were established and, in collaboration between the Board and the Dominion Department of Mines, an extensive production of alloys to be used in the manufacture of high-speed cutting tools was organized, while the development of an explosive and propellant industry proved an important achievement.

In 1917 shipbuilding for the Canadian Government was undertaken by the Board upon a large scale and contracts eventually were let up to a value of $70,000,000 with a shipping tonnage of 360,000; a national plant was also established, with Imperial money, for the construction of aeroplanes for training purposes and of these 2,500 or more were produced, while bombing planes were, later on, made for the United States Navy; the Board also acted as general and exclusive purchasing agent on behalf of the War Office, the Admiralty, the British Timber Comptroller, the British Department of Aeronautics and Ministry of Munitions and as agent for the United States Ordnance Department in arranging contracts for munitions and supplies. In its organization the Board was presided over by Sir J. W. Flavelle — created in 1917 a Baronet for his Imperial War services — and his keen business and financial capacity pervaded all sections of the large business which steadily grew as the War demands increased. There were various important branches of work controlled by the Board, such as the Purchasing and Steel Department and that of Explosives which operated three national plants at Trenton, Renfrew and Nobel producing nitro-cellulose, cordite and

T. N. T. with acid plants in addition, and one producing acetone, etc.; also Forging, Aviation, Fuse, Timber and Engineering Departments.

Inspections was carried on by a British officer responsible to the Director General of Inspection in Great Britain and the administrative staff included about 1,500 men and women; from 250,000 to 300,000 workers were employed including 12,000 women. Meanwhile the production of munitions and war material under these auspices had been progressing by leaps and bounds and the export of 1914–15–16, already quoted, and totalling for that period $353,748,109 had become in the calendar year 1917 $388,213,553, in 1918 $260,711,751, and for the whole period of the War had totalled $1,002,672,413. During the last six months of the War 15 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Imperial Ministry of Munitions was incurred in Canada; the Dominion had by that time been able to make nearly every type of shell from the 18-pounder to the 9.2 inch — in the former case reaching an output of shrapnel in the last six months of 1918 which ran to 55 per cent. of the British requirements. Such a record in so few years was an achievement of no mean nature.

CHAPTER XII

WAR ECONOMICS AND CONDITIONS IN CANADA

At the beginning of the War Canada was a debtor nation as it had been during all its national career and in almost every phase of its corporate life; it nearly always had bought more than it sold or imported more than its people could pay for in exports. At the close of the War it was lending money and shipping more products abroad than were imported. In the four years ending March 31, 1914, the total exports had been $1,484,743,600 and the imports $2,318,643,002; in the four-year period of 1914–18 the exports were $4,335,549,319 and the imports $2,965,497,837. A change in eight years from a four-year excess of $870,000,000 in imports to a four-year excess of $1,370,000,000 in exports was an extraordinary economic record and trade revolution. In this process the solidity of the British financial system had afforded strong support, the safety of the seas had given a background without which the change would have been impossible, the war production of the period had been a conspicuous element, the financial capacity of Sir Thomas White a considerable factor.

When the situation developed on July 28, 1914, into a world-wide and momentary panic of fear as to the incalculable consequences, the immense unknown forces of destruction about to be let loose, the Stock Exchanges of Canada felt the same influences which affected those of Europe and the United States. Toronto, Montreal and other centres closed their Exchanges and did not fully reopen them during 1914; the inclination toward panic in prices was checked though the cessation of sales created stagnation; individuals remained for days and in some

cases for weeks afraid to spend a dollar or even to keep their money in Banks; some financial institutions reflected this panicky and natural feeling of not knowing what dreadful thing was going to happen next, while nation after nation was declaring war and millions of armed men were moving to unknown destinations and destructive work; prices of food advanced and wages, salaries, incomes, were cut in many directions. The Banks found that deposits were affected by the situation in a decrease during the first month of $20,000,000. It was not much on a total of $1,000,000,000 but it had a depressing influence for a time though in the end it was felt to have really proved — in its small proportions — a wide popular confidence in the Banks. As a matter of fact in the succeeding four years of war these deposits increased from a total of $1,010,000,000 on December 31, 1914, to $1,669,000,000 at the close of 1918; the total Banking assets from $1,555,000,000 to $2,689,000,000.

A serious fact in the first few days of uncertainty and war peril was the demand for gold in place of Bank or even Dominion Government notes. Mr. White, as Minister of Finance, heard the representatives of the bankers, and before this very natural tendency could take a form dangerous to financial stability he acted — quickly and without regard to technical considerations. On August 4 he announced through Orders-in-Council that Bank notes were to be legal tender and, for the time being, irreclaimable in gold. The effect of this drastic step was immediate. Public confidence was very largely restored, Bank business went on almost as usual, commercial and financial interests proceeded without serious dislocation, business failures remained nearly normal. Of course, the progress of the War had something to do with this; there was no great immediate disaster, no capture of Paris, no British naval defeat; the seas were measurably secure, international trade continued. The one thing seriously affected was

international exchange and the failure of the United States at the moment to make good its gold indebtedness to Britain. On August 12 it was announced by the Minister of Finance that negotiations had been going on between the Government, represented in London by Hon. G. H. Perley, and the Bank of England, under which the latter institution would keep a gold balance — as forwarded from New York — in the hands of the Finance Minister at Ottawa and make payments against it in London. In succeeding months the amount was steadily enlarged to facilitate British business with the United States and to help in controlling sterling exchange rates at New York. Transactions assumed a large figure, though evidently not included in statements of import and export. Those announced up to November 14, 1914, totalled over $73,000,000, while coin and bullion imports for the year ending March 31, 1915, were $131,000,000; in 1916 and 1917 they totalled $62,000,000. There were at other stages varied phases of the exchange difficulty; as a rule, however, a visit by the Finance Minister to Washington or negotiations with London adjusted the matter. By the close of the War, it may be added, the value of the gold coin and gold bullion received at Ottawa by the Department of Finance as Trustee for the Imperial Government and the Bank of England totalled $1,300,000,000.

Mr. White, in fact, acted in Canada with the same sense of responsibility and indifference to precedent as did Mr. Lloyd George in England, and with the same satisfactory results. He saved the Banks from any possibility of panic over a demand for gold, he made exchange easy, at several critical junctures between the United States and Britain, he arranged a large war credit in London for Canada to draw upon in its initial war preparations, he permitted the Banks to obtain Dominion notes by depositing satisfactory securities at Ottawa instead of gold or a portion of gold. This latter action was taken to aid in moving the current

crops to market and the Minister appointed a Committee to advise in the selection of securities as follows: D. R. Wilkie, President Canadian Bankers' Association, Toronto; Sir F. Williams-Taylor, General Manager Bank of Montreal, Montreal; E. L. Pease, General Manager Royal Bank of Canada, Montreal; H. B. Walker, Manager Canadian Bank of Commerce, Montreal. As the months and years passed on the Minister was able to establish credits in Canada on behalf of the Imperial Government totalling $709,000,000 up to November 30, 1918, and with these Great Britain was able to purchase war supplies and munitions in Canada while he also arranged with the Chartered Banks for further advances of $200,000,000 for the British purchase of munitions and wheat. Against these totals Great Britain advanced to the Dominion $609,000,000 for the maintenance of Canadian troops abroad, etc.

Meanwhile, revenue and trade and production had all been growing greatly. In 1914–15 (March 31) the national revenue was $133,073,481, in 1915–16 $172,147,838, in 1916–17 $232,701,294, in 1917–18 $260,778,952, or a total of $798,000,000; there was a deficit in the first War-year but surpluses in each year following, over ordinary expenditures, of $42,000,000, $84,000,000 and $82,000,000 respectively. War expenditures, however, totalled in the four years $877,263,847, with an outlay to November 30, 1918, which made it $1,068,606,527. To meet these enormous demands special taxation was of course necessary, and Sir Thomas White was not afraid to tax everything except the more essential supplies. Higher customs duties were imposed in 1915 through an *ad valorem* increase of 7½ per cent. to the general tariff and 5 per cent. to the British preferential tariff on all commodities except certain foodstuffs, coal, harvesting machinery, etc.; in 1918 a special duty was put on tea and coffee. Excise duties on liquors and tobacco were greatly increased; war taxes were imposed on transportation tickets, telegrams, money orders,

cheques, letters, patent medicines, etc. Under the Business Profits tax the Government, in the case of all business concerns having a capital of $50,000 and over, took 25 per cent. of the net profits over 7 per cent. and not exceeding 15 per cent., and 50 per cent. of the profits over 15 per cent. and not exceeding 20 per cent. In the case of a business having a capital of $25,000 or under $50,000 the Government took 25 per cent. of all profits in excess of 10 per cent. on the capital employed. Companies employing capital of less than $25,000 were exempted, with the exception of those dealing in munitions or war supplies.

An Income tax was inaugurated for the first time in Canadian history and came into effect in 1918 with a scale which provided for $1,000 exemption of income in the case of unmarried persons, $2,000 in the case of married people with $200 exemption for each child. An issue of $50,000,000 of War Savings Stamps was announced in 1918 with a view to increasing Government revenue and encouraging individual thrift. Meantime the National Debt had grown from $335,996,850 on March 31, 1914, before the War, to a total of $1,330,228,898 on December 31, 1918, after the War. As against this latter fact was the enormous increase in national wealth. Prior to the War the total wealth of the whole Dominion in lands, buildings, live-stock, fisheries, manufactures, railways, canals, shipping, telegraphs, telephones, real estate, coin and bullion, merchandise in store, and current production, was put at $11,000,000,000.* In 1918 the Dominion Census Bureau officially estimated the total at $19,002,788,125. To this great increase in wealth was due, no doubt, the facility with which money in this one-time borrowing community was obtained from the people for War purposes through National loans — totalling a Government call in the five Loans issued of $950,000,000 and a general subscription of $137,729,500 to the first Loan in 1915, $201,444,800 to the second in 1916, $260,768,000 to

* Canadian Bankers' Association estimate, 1911.

the third in 1917, $419,280,000 to the fourth in 1917, and $695,389,277 to the fifth in 1918, or a total of $1,690,000,000. Meantime, as already stated, Canadian trade had been advancing by leaps and bounds. Between 1911 and 1914 (March 31) it had increased $53,000,000 and had passed the billion dollar point; closely following the outbreak of war there was a natural but surprisingly small check in the process of expansion; in the fiscal year 1916 there was a remarkable increase from $1,112,000,000 to $1,424,000,000. By 1918 the total increase since the War began was $1,400,000,000. More important, however, than this total — significant enough in itself — was the nature of the change which it involved. Before the War (March 31, 1914) Canada had imported $633,000,000 and exported $479,000,000 worth of products with a balance of $154,000,000 against her and this payable largely in borrowed money; two years later (March 31, 1916) the total imports were $542,000,000 and the exports $882,000,000, or a favourable balance of $340,000,000. In 1918 the imports had leaped to $962,000,000 and the exports to $1,586,000,000, or a balance to the good of $624,000,000. The progress in exports is shown in the following table of calendar years:*

Exports of	1914	1915	1916
The Mine	$53,084,863	$62,960,628	$83,462,893
The Fisheries	18,661,560	22,407,687	24,696,944
The Forest	41,523,344	51,211,820	55,676,911
Animal Produce	70,727,132	99,056,115	119,451,687
Agricultural Products	126,262,825	237,964,468	371,753,651
Manufactures	71,870,071	190,997,981	444,275,942
Miscellaneous	549,920	4,666,732	7,763,450
Total	$382,679,715	$669,265,431	$1,107,081,478

Exports of	1917	1918
The Mine	$76,082,491	$79,650,972
The Fisheries	28,929,640	34,129,743
The Forest	51,695,847	66,857,990
Animal Produce	174,734,202	181,391,749
Agricultural Products	535,139,629	326,974,133
Manufactures	673,000,725	555,725,934
Miscellaneous	4,868,346	5,119,826
Total	$1,544,450,880	$1,249,850,347

* Compiled by the Canadian Bank of Commerce.

An increase in four years of $68,000,000 in the exports of minerals, fish and lumber, of $111,000,000 in Animal products, of $200,000,000 in Agricultural produce and $484,000,000 in manufactures affords a vivid picture of war-time prosperity. Such a change in conditions was, of course, a tremendous factor and it influenced every phase of the national life. It was a proof of the productivity of the country, an evidence of the capacity of the manufacturers and financiers and public men of the nation, a proof of the industry of the people and of the organized patriotism of labour and capital. There were in this whole critical period of the War few strikes and no serious troubles between employers and workmen; high wages were given the workmen and high prices paid by them; at the same time the total Bank deposits of the people, after meeting war loans and war subscriptions and war prices, increased by $660,000,000 during the War. Following a depression in stocks which had existed before the War, and the almost complete cessation of speculation in land, another process of development arose out of the submergence of prices and values in August, 1914. There had been a continuous depreciation in the market of most Canadian stocks before that date and since 1912. According to the Montreal *Financial Times,* in detailed figures, 38 Canadian stocks had depreciated in that time to a total of $38,000,000. By August 14, 1915, 31 representative stocks had entirely changed their condition and appreciated $90,000,000, while in October, 1916, 37 such stocks appreciated another $80,000,000. Similar changes continued to the end with large developments in the value of War stocks or shares in munition-making concerns.

Another change in economic conditions was the transfer of Canada's borrowing arrangements from London to New York and thence to its own people. When the roar of German guns was heard on Belgian soil its first echo told the Canadian financier that he could get no more money in

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

The Trail of the Hun

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

What War Means!

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

German Prisoners Pressed Into Service

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Faithful Unto Death

England until that sound had ceased and that the fertilizing stream which had set going the railways of Canada, dug its canals, built its steamships, developed its soil through indirect loans to farmers, backed up its entire financial fabric and Government policy of progress, must stop for a time. Would Canadian credit hold good? was the question of the day. Could public works still be carried on by Dominion, Provincial or Municipal authorities? Would the individual interests of the country receive a check which might spell disaster and, in any case, involve prolonged, crushing depression? The answer came (1) through the financial action and policy of the Government and its British backing; (2) through the stability and efficiency of the Banks: (3) through the security and continuance and increase in trade; (4) through loans freely floated in New York which totalled, for all Canada in the first two years of war, $300,000,000; (5) through loans from the people to the Government which ran up to $1,788,000,000 during the War and to much more if Provincial and Municipal loans were included; (6) through the work of the Government institutions such as the War Trade Board and the Imperial Munitions Board and various energetic Departments.

Railways obtained a considerable portion of Government loans, and they needed it. One of the gravest problems facing the Government at the outbreak of war was the situation in this respect. Railway earnings already were on the down-grade, while two great lines were barely completed across the continent with huge debts maturing, large Government interests and still larger public interests involved, and a maximum of expenses, certain for some years to come, with a minimum of earnings. War appeared to mean, and did mean, for many months, largely reduced receipts, fewer passengers, less freights. Careful management, however, succeeded for a time in reducing expenses, increasing trade, gradually and then rapidly, increased

receipts and, by 1916, the Canadian Pacific was doing the greatest business in its history; while the two other transcontinental Lines had been carried around sharp corners by Government aid and the credit of the country maintained, in this respect, through absolutely essential advances at critical periods. The national advantages which must follow the construction of 19,000 miles of railway lines in ten years had been considered and conserved; the $140,000,000 increase of gross earnings on these lines, in that period, understood and maintained. It was a difficult proposition for both politicians and financiers, but, by the end of 1916, there were few who doubted the wisdom of the Government in this temporary policy or the skill of the Railway managers — though many wanted a further expansion and application of the Government ownership principle.

In 1917 this question became a still more vital issue. There had been, during much of these years, a severe shortage in rolling stock, great difficulty and prolonged delays in obtaining renewals of equipment, serious increases in the price of all railway material, large advances and demands as to wages and heavy reductions in labour supply, a natural impairment of credit and difficulty in obtaining money, considerable congestion in traffic owing to war requirements and costs, or inadequate facilities, or deficiencies in equipment. Construction projects had, of course, been eliminated or reduced to a minimum — the new track construction of 1916 had been 297 miles compared with 719 in 1915. At the same time, as the year 1917 passed and a record volume of traffic came to Canadian lines, it was found that these difficulties had been met in many directions. Earnings had mounted higher with the increasing costs, while splendid work by the management of the four great systems of Canada prevented any such break-down in operation as characterized the United States. Economy became a habit, efficiency was

largely developed. The chief statistics of 1914 and the four War years (June 30) were as follows:

	1914	1915	1916
Total mileage	30,795	35,578	37,434
Capitalization	$1,808,820,761	$1,875,810,888	$1,893,877,819
Tons of freight carried	101,393,989	87,204,838	109,659,088
Number of passengers	46,702,280	46,322,035	49,027,671
Gross earnings	$243,083,539	$199,843,072	$263,527,157
Operating expenses	$178,975,258	$147,731,099	$180,542,259
Net earnings	$64,108,280	$52,111,972	$81,346,394

	1917	1918
Total mileage	38,604	38,879
Capitalization	$1,985,119,991	$1,999,880,494
Tons of freight carried	121,916,272	127,543,687
Number of passengers	53,749,680	50,737,294
Gross earnings	$310,771,479	$330,220,150
Operating expenses	$222,890,637	$273,955,436
Net earnings	$87,880,842	$56,264,714

A combination of problems also brought combined action and on October 24, 1917, as a result of war conditions and of Government suggestion, the Canadian Railway Association for National Defence was formed at Montreal with the object of formulating in detail a policy of operation for all or any of the railways, for the co-ordinating of industrial activities toward the prosecution of the War, and for rendering the most efficient possible service to the national cause. It was hoped that through heavier loading of cars, elimination of unnecessary train service, the co-operative use of all facilities to the best advantage, the country's needs might be better served, and, of course, the convenience of the Railways also. Efforts also were made to obtain increased freight and passenger rates as transportation by rail had increased in cost, at first, because the railways had to do something to meet reduced shipments and fewer travellers; afterwards rates stiffened because of the heavy demands of larger crops, the carrying of hundreds of thousands of troops, the later requirements of millions of tons of munitions and war supplies and parcels for the Front. It was not until 1918 that the advance was actually permitted by the Government. Ocean transport rates, meantime, had gone sky-high and stayed there for

obvious reasons — the destruction of trading vessels by submarines and mines, the loss of 4,000,000 tons of British shipping, the internment of steamships in neutral and enemy ports, the withdrawal by the British Government of a vast number of small and large vessels for every kind of maritime war-work, the calling of great trans-Atlantic or Pacific liners into operation as war cruisers or transports.

Meanwhile the proposals for Railway nationalization, or public ownership on a large scale, had been made possible by the War and its application in respect to certain Canadian railways became almost inevitable through war-created conditions. The action of the Government in saving the railway and financial situation in 1916 by special aid to the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern Railways for the purpose of meeting current obligations and interest payments precipitated the appointment (July 13, 1916) of a Royal Commission to inquire into Railways and Transportation — including territories served by the three great systems of Canada, physical conditions, operative methods, branch lines, connections in the United States, steamship connections and financial conditions, together with problems of re-organization, or state acquisition. The Commissioners appointed were Alfred H. Smith, President of the New York Central, Sir Henry L. Drayton, Chairman of the Canadian Railway Commission, and Sir George Paish of London; the latter, being unable to act, was replaced by Wm. M. Acworth of London. The Report was presented to Parliament on May 3, with one section signed by Sir H. L. Drayton and Mr. Acworth and the other by Mr. Smith. The majority document was in favour of a disguised form of Government ownership; the minority of one (Mr. Smith) was opposed to this policy in principle and practice. The Government, however, had to decide an immediate issue — apart from theories, precedents of peace times in other countries, or the rights and wrongs of particular proposals. The Canadian Northern

and Grand Trunk Pacific must have still more help under war conditions which made it impossible to obtain money on the open market; public opinion clearly was opposed to further Government aid without Government ownership or control, and the Prime Minister himself had at one time led a political campaign in favour of this latter policy in relation to the Grand Trunk Pacific construction period; the very success and wealth of the C. P. R. made the public suspicious of "great and grasping corporations," while the opposite condition of other Railways made people fearful of future Canadian burdens from corporations that might not succeed!

The West was almost a unit for Government ownership and the West was swinging a wide measure of political influence. In Parliament on August 1, 1917, Sir Thomas White presented the Government's plan for a solution of the problem. After dealing at length with the Royal Commission, its reports, and its conclusions, he said: "The finances of the Canadian Pacific are all that you might desire. The finances of the Grand Trunk Railway are entirely satisfactory with the exception only of their contingent liability, which is a very heavy one, in respect to the securities of the Grand Trunk Pacific which they have guaranteed. The position of the Canadian Northern is that, although the Company makes net earnings, any surplus cash it has on that account it requires to pay for betterments and rolling stock. The result is that the Company is short of cash for the purpose of paying interest upon its underlying securities. . . . The prolongation of the War has made it impossible for the Canadian Northern to float any additional securities, to issue any further debenture stock." His proposal was for the Government (1) to acquire the 600,000 shares of capital stock of the C. N. R. Company — par value $60,000,000 — at a price to be determined but not to exceed $10,000,000; (2) to appoint three arbitrators to settle such values and obtain such

reports and facts as might be necessary; (3) to give the Company, upon transfer of these shares, all necessary aid in arranging its indebtedness and obligations — the total on September 30, 1917, being $557,331,355. Eventually Parliament approved the proposals and the C. N. R. in 1918 became Government property. A temporary expedient in respect to the Grand Trunk Pacific was another Government Loan; in 1919 it passed into the hands of receivers and practically came under Government control.

Canadian industry, in its manufacturing sense, faced and conquered difficulties, great difficulties, in these years. It had to meet at first a prospect of diminished markets, depleted labour, high cost of supplies, decreased prices of products, lower capital reserves and credit, with all kinds of speculative war risks in prices, raw material, shipments, cost of transportation, etc. It entered the depressing period of August, 1914, with production already reduced and sails furled for a possible period of still more diminished output and greater financial restriction. It afterwards emerged from two years of war with the greatest output in history — totalling an estimated sum of $2,000,000,000 — with every factory busy, with appeals for men and women workers from all parts of the country, with prices of products high and demand incessant, with no time to think of the future, or even, in some cases, to safeguard the present. Munitions and war supplies had much to do with the process, increased home demands resulting from decreased imports influenced the result, great prosperity in Agriculture, in minerals, timber, fisheries and livestock to a 1915 production of over $1,600,000,000, had much to do with it. From stagnation to sensational activity was the record of these two years; perhaps not entirely a wholesome one, but still one which circulated much money and kept up the other works of war along imperatively-needed lines. The first call upon industry had echoed and fulfilled those words of Harold

Begbie which for a time received such wide acceptance in Canada:

> **Let the foe who strikes at England hear her wheels of commerce turn,**
> **Let the ships that war with England see her factory furnace burn;**
> **For the foe most fears the cannon, and his heart most quails with dread,**
> **When behind the man in khaki is the man who keeps his head.**

Afterwards too much stress was laid upon this idea by some who were selfishly interested in keeping their employees at home through discouragement of recruiting. The situation of prosperity did not develop in a day. The Massey-Harris concern, with large industrial interests in enemy markets, suffered suddenly and severely and for a time closed down its works; other manufacturers feared that operations would be greatly hampered by the absence of German dyes and such products as ferro-manganese which had been obtained from Germany; the drug and chemical trades were greatly troubled as to potash, the electrical industry as to platinum, manufacturers of photographic materials as to oxalic acid, and so on with various interests. But means were found to overcome these and other obstacles. It came to be understood that Germany had been sending to Canada in the past considerable quantities of iron and steel goods, such as tubing, steel tires, cutlery, machinery, wire, etc.; a great variety of hardware, lamps, clocks, jewelry, electrical apparatus, scientific instruments, musical instruments, earthenware and glassware; all kinds of drygoods, cotton and woolen goods, hosiery, gloves, fancy goods, toys, dolls, buttons, combs, etc.; also drugs and important chemicals which could more or less be made and supplied at home. German methods had been very thorough and it put Canadian manufacturers upon their mettle to cope with the situation. A campaign was commenced in the press (1914–15) and on the platform to (1) urge each manufacturer to keep going, to have confidence and to seek new markets with new goods; (2) to impress upon Canadians the desirability of buying home-

made goods, articles made in Canada, in place especially of the $450,000,000 worth bought yearly from the United States; (3) to urge the thought that a considerable part of the $2,400,000,000 of Germany's exports to the world could be replaced by Canadian production or manufacture if enterprise, energy and ingenuity were displayed.

As the early months of war passed many of these activities were turned in the direction of war munitions and supplies, but others remained along more permanent lines, and by 1916 every great staple industry in Canada was prosperous. New industries, such as wooden and steel ship-building, promised large development, and others, such as the pulp mills, paper making, flour mills and textile interests, flourished greatly. According to a census of Canadian manufacturers compiled by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the year 1917, the value of products made in Canada totalled $3,015,506,869, which compared more than favourably with the figures for 1915, which were $1,407,137,140, or for 1905, which totalled $718,352,603. To more than double production in two years certainly was a record; at the same time wages grew from 1915 to 1917 from a total of $229,000,000 to $457,000,000; the invested capital increased from $1,994,000,000 to $2,772,000,000. Some of the great productive increases of these years were in flour milling, iron and steel, meat packing, car-making, automobiles, boots and shoes, light and power, electric apparatus and all forms of munitions. As illustrations of this growth it may be stated that the average production of leather in Canada was $2,162,662 in the three years of 1912–14, while in 1918 the total was $10,986,221; the same average for certain metal manufactures — copper, nickel, brass, and aluminium — was $15,323,513, while in 1918 the total was $46,271,848; the production of iron and steel manufactures in 1914 was $11,374,981, and in 1918, $45,810,367. The average for printing paper grew from that of

$6,739,299 in 1912–14 to a total of $33,978,347 in 1918, and that of vehicles from $2,871,163 to $22,776,590.

There was also a tremendous demand for new vessels and shipping and a natural development in this line of Canadian industry. Early progress was made along substantial lines, and by the close of 1916 splendidly equipped ship-building plants were in operation at Montreal, Toronto, Collingwood, Port Arthur, and Vancouver; auxiliary schooners were under construction at Vancouver for the Pacific timber trade; various contracts were in hand for ships required by Norway to replace its torpedoed vessels; twenty or more steel freighters were under construction for export, presumably to Britain; wooden ships were being successfully built in Nova Scotia. In 1917 the Government took up the question of encouraging the industry with a dozen great ship-building yards ready for action. Between January 1, 1918, and the end of that year 45 steel vessels with a carrying capacity of 208,167 tons and 58 wooden vessels with a capacity of 159,200 tons had been launched under the order of the Imperial Munitions Board, the Department of Marine, or by private contract, with further Government contracts authorized for 39 ships of 233,000 tonnage. Meanwhile 12 submarines for the Imperial Government and six for that of Italy had been constructed together with 60 armed trawlers, 100 armed drifters, 550 coastal patrol motor boats and 24 steel lighters for use in Mesopotamia — also for the Imperial Government.

Meanwhile, Agriculture had made tremendous progress. During these years, indeed, the farmer became one of the pivots upon which the destiny of nations and the conduct of the World War turned. In Canada he did not always understand or appreciate what this meant; occasionally it conveyed to him only an opportunity of getting higher prices for a stated product or better returns for a given amount of work. It really was possible to be an individual profiteer on a farm as it was in the manipulation of muni-

tions or any other war industry. But, upon the whole, the Canadian farmer worked hard in these war years, did his duty well, and profited by substantial prices even while paying more for seed and wages and supplies. At the same time he kept his own interests well to the front by organization, by demands in certain sections for free trade in various products, by a system of organized agitation which equalled, if it did not excell, the undoubted capacity and influence of the manufacturers. The powerful Grain Growers' associations of the West first took up co-operative supply, then co-operative elevators, then co-operative finance; they took part in Provincial politics along agricultural lines and expanded into British Columbia, Ontario and Nova Scotia where similar organizations and principles were established in these years and grew to a considerable extent. Farmers were accorded free-trade in wheat and wheat flour while the duty on farm tractors was remitted during the war, and 1,100 tractors were distributed by the Government at cost; prices were fixed for wheat in such a way that substantial profits were assured, while Imperial and Allied purchasing agencies made certain a profitable market for all that could be produced in Canada; seed deficits in certain sections of the West were met by Dominion Government advances or supplies.

The Canadian farmer during these war years had two dominant beliefs — one, that his industry was the basis of Canadian strength and a factor in war success; the other that it was just as patriotic to produce as to fight. Without arguing either point here, it may be said that the Census and other figures showed great agricultural prosperity. In 1911 the valuation of Canadian farm property (including live-stock) was $4,231,840,636, and in 1917 was estimated at $5,000,000,000; in the fiscal years 1914–15–16–17–18 the shipments abroad of farm products (agricultural and animal) totalled $2,056,000,000, and most of this export went to the United Kingdom at war prices and profits to

both the farmer and the middleman; every report of Provincial or Dominion farm organizations showed prosperity and excellent financial conditions in these years, and the above export compared with a total of $1,500,000,000 of industrial production — including War industries and munitions; the average value of occupied farm lands went up from $38.41 per acre in 1914 to $46.00 in 1918 while the increased value of grain and live-stock in 1914–18 was $1,400,000,000; official figures showed increased values in live-stock alone, and in the one year, of $224,000,000. In 1912–13–14 the average yearly value of Canada's exports of butter, cheese, eggs, oats and wheat was $118,000,000; in 1918 the actual export was $445,000,000. Meantime the world-shortage in food had produced a system of regulation and control in Canada under (1) Hon. W. J. Hanna and (2) H. B. Thomson and the Food Board; it had produced also a vigorous and continued appeal for increased farm production, for more foodstuffs; by economy and restriction in consumption, by increase in home and market gardening, by additional labour help from the cities to the farms, by increased prices for production the farmers were encouraged to produce more and more. The fact that in beef the export of 1918 was 126,000,000 pounds, or a gain of 42,000,000 over 1917; that in pork the export increased from 12,000,000 to 35,000,000 pounds; that in wheat and other food grains the same two years saw an increased acreage of 6,000,000; that the consumption of fish increased 100 per cent, and that butter was largely exported instead of being imported in considerable quantities; that the Canadian consumption of wheat flour was decreased by 200,000 barrels a month and that a saving of 100,000 tons of sugar annually was effected by regulation and supervision; all these things illustrate the result of this organization and advocacy.

Another economic problem of great importance and of intense individual interest was the high cost of living. It

was not altogether a war problem; it already had reached a high level in 1913 before the war; it rose somewhat in 1914, and leaped upwards in 1916–18. It was a world-wide issue, based, in its serious phenomena, upon inadequate production at the points of demand, insistent requirements of a continuous and world-wide nature, costly and insufficient transportation by land and by sea. It was accompanied by conditions associated with these fundamental ones — increasing scarcity of coal from (1) lack of labour and (2) increase of demand; exhaustion of many raw materials followed by ever-increasing military needs and transport difficulties. Government control took new and extraordinary forms, every effort was made, compatible with that stiff and unthinking independence which characterizes modern democracy, to organize men and interests, economize consumption, and facilitate distribution; but the best results were not as good as they should have been. Except in Australia and New Zealand, where crops could not be shipped, food prices grew high and higher. Early in 1916 retail food prices in Germany and Austria were double those ruling before the war; in 1918 and in 1919 they fluctuated with a steady upward tendency. In a four-year period prices in Canada, Great Britain and the United States ran, roughly, according to index numbers, as follows:*

Wholesale prices	Canada	Great Britain	United States	Retail food prices	Canada	Great Britain	United States
1913.....	135.5	85	81	1913.....	7.33	102	98
1916.....	182.0	137	100	1916.....	8.79	160	112
Dec., 1916..	207.4	154.3	118	Dec., 1916..	10.11	184	125
Aug., 1917..	245.0	175.7	150	Aug., 1917..	11.68	202	147

As to Canada, specifically, the process at first was not clear, nor were the local increases large or sweeping. There seemed to be only a tendency to higher prices in certain natural lines. Tea went up for a time but was afterwards reduced, and other items of increases were

* *Wholesale Prices in Canada*, issued by Department of Labour, Ottawa.

described on August 24, 1914, as follows: Cocoa, 10 per cent; coffee, 5 cents per pound; imported and sweetened biscuits, 25 per cent; imported jellies and jams, 25 per cent; Canadian jellies and jams, ¼ cent per pound; confectionery, 1 cent per pound; liquors $1 to $2 per case. Bread remained almost normal for a time. Finally, by a steady, successive process, it was found in November, 1916, that the dollar of 1914 was only worth 67 cents in the purchase of specified foodstuffs. Bread, milk, butter, sugar, bacon and other meats, coal, eggs, lard, cheese, flour, potatoes, canned corn, peas and other vegetables had increased in degrees varying from 20 to 171 per cent. The price of bread varied during this period with an average price in Ontario — where the weight of the loaf was regulated by Provincial Statute—of 3·87 cents in the pre-war six months of 1914, or 4·4 cents in the first six months of 1915, of 4·15 cents in the same period of 1916. Meanwhile, official figures for twenty-nine foods in sixty Canadian centres showed a retail price of $7.42 in July, 1914, and $8.97 in September, 1916, while index figures published by the Department of Labour at Ottawa stated an increase of forty-six points in Canadian wholesale prices on 271 commodities during the same period.

The problem was one of ever-increasing interest to Canadians, even apart from the war — prior to which the prices of food had risen from an index figure of 100 in 1900 to 145 in 1913, or three times the current increase in Great Britain. The cost of coal had also increased at a ratio greater than in Britain. It was an extraordinary situation in a new country with illimitable quantities and richness of soil, with vast beds of bituminous coal under its rolling prairies and great resources in anthracite on its Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The only possible conclusion was that before the war Canadians had been selfish in many cases, grasping in others, thriftless and extravagant in varied ways; with the coming of war there was at least a real excuse for continued

increase in the cost of living, though there was no excuse for the 1914–16 difference in the relative cost as between Britain and Canada — a difference which should have been much in the latter's favour because of Britain's isolation, her larger population and smaller area — her far greater needs.

People naturally failed to understand the situation, there was much discontent, and the high prices of bacon as controlled largely by the Company of which Sir J. W. Flavelle was the head, caused an outburst of personal resentment in 1917 which will long constitute an interesting page in war psychology. The public could not clearly see the larger causes and the lesser details which fitted into a world condition. Money inflation and high prices are a part of all wars, and especially so in a world conflict where the output of gold and silver could not keep pace with the growth of expenditure; extravagant living and payment of exorbitant prices for luxuries took time for limitation; the waste of food by profiteers holding for better prices, or by people striving to get only the better cuts of meat, or by the ordering and destruction of individual helpings of food only partly used and running to enormous quantities over a continent; the waste of products in cold storage, of apples unpicked or wasted, of things lost through lack of labour, or the fact of inefficiency — all helped to create scarcity and raise prices. Then there was the shopping system by telephone, the expensive delivery system and demands of thoughtless customers, the high cost of labour-saving machinery to the farmer; there were high freight rates and losses from delayed or congested transportation, scarcity also of teams and carters and delivery or hauling equipment; the increase of wages and decrease of working hours with, in many cases, decrease of efficiency and production were additional causes; there was also the waste in garbage, etc., estimated by the Food Controller at $56,000,000 or $7 per head of the population every year,

and losses such as the 26,000 pounds of immature veal destroyed in a Toronto fire during a few minutes.

The Canadian Government could not do much directly nor could it effect a rapid change in the habits of the people. Many efforts were made, however, and with considerable success, to encourage thrift and the saving of money; the Department of Labour compiled and issued figures showing the steady rise in prices from month to month; the attitude of the Minister of Labour seemed to be that a manufacturer could, within certain limits, fix the price to a retailer, but should not attempt to determine the retailer's price to the public; Government warnings were issued as to arbitrary or unnecessary increases of a combined nature; in November, 1916, an Order-in-Council imposed severe penalties upon any trust or combine operations for the control of such increases in price. Power was given the Minister of Labour, and to the municipalities working in conjunction with him, to regulate the cost of living by prohibiting undue or abnormal increase in the cost of necessities — staple articles of food, clothing and fuel — and to provide against any undue accumulation or storage of food. Heavy penalties were imposed for the infraction of these rules or the limiting by agreement of facilities in production or manufacture, or the restraining of trade in any necessaries of life, or organization to lessen competition in the sale of such products. The prices of milk, bread, coal and flour were eventually regulated, the consumption of fish was encouraged and prices cheapened, all dealers in food products were put under license.

As the months of war passed into years it became clear that this increase in prices was fundamental and not superficial; it could be moderated in details but could not be prevented or abolished. A high crop one year, a short crop the next, left all regulations or arrangements in the air; enormous armies, from Mesopotamia to Verdun, from Jerusalem to Ypres, took 40,000,000 men from the fields or

the national employments of the world, and at the same time increased the demand for food and other supplies; the tying up of Russia's wheat surplus was a continuous factor of the period in relation to flour and bread; the shortage of shipping affected many things in Canada and especially sugar prices; scarcity of labour from the calls of army and munition work, caused increased wages and decreased production of ordinary necessaries; the colossal demands of armies in the field for boots, clothing, etc., inevitably raised the price of many other supplies. Such conditions could not be adequately met by the most skillful policy or the strongest Order-in-Council of a Canadian Government. Isolated modifications and checks were possible; large corrective measures were not practicable in either Canada or Britain except by a vital Government action which would involve control of all important industries — a conscription of all men and women for war or war-work, of all capital and interchange and production, for war purposes.

It will be seen from these facts as to the general economic condition of the country that its expansion and prosperity during these years of war rested upon more than munition contracts or war supplies — important as these matters were. It involved a sweeping reversal of trade conditions, a change of Canada from a debtor to a creditor nation in current business, a striking increase in available capital and savings. There was, of course, one year of a great grain crop which alone brought to Western Canada an estimated $500,000,000; there was also a continuance of high prices with immense expenditures of home-borrowed money with, also, that of Britain or the Allies for war purposes. On the other hand there were tremendous calls upon public philanthropy, there was not very much practical economy in evidence and, if large war expenditures were made in the country, so were large sums demanded from the people in Government war loans, while labour was scarce and high. After four years of war Canada was at the most generally

prosperous stage in all its history. Economically this might mean anything; practically, in a new country like Canada, it meant that large sums of money were being made and saved in varied ways, as well as wasted or misspent, and that much of this money would, eventually, go into national development and help in meeting the strenuous calls of the after-war future. The following table of total production in 1918 shows the basis upon which this 8,000,000 people were prepared to meet the years of change and economic revolution which lay before them:

Field Crops	$1,337,000,000
Dairy Products	62,500,000
Eggs, Fruit, etc.	40,000,000
Value of Farm Animals	1,100,000,000
Lumber	176,000,000
Manufacturing Industries	3,015,000,000
Fisheries	52,000,000
Minerals	210,000,000
Total	$5,992,500,000

A few words must be said as to the attitude of Canadian labour in the war; a matter which really lay at the root of national economic conditions. A disturbed, restless, disloyal, discontented condition in the mass of workmen would have hampered Government action, changed Government policy, hindered recruiting and production, checked industrial and war efficiency in a thousand directions. As it was the workingmen of Canada rallied to the cause of liberty, of country and Empire, in a manner which reflected great honour upon themselves and their national patriotism. It was all the more notable because some of the Labour leaders in England, some in the United States, and some in Canada itself, were distinguished for a Pacifism and anti-war attitude which found public expression on more than one occasion. Amongst the latter were President J. C. Watters of the Trades and Labour Congress, James Simpson of Toronto, F. J. Dixon of Winnipeg and E. T. Kingsley of Vancouver. The war strain of the workman in all the Allied countries was considerable in these years; in Eng-

land and France it was very heavy, in the United States it evoked violent expression at times; in Canada effort remained voluntary and high wages held certain elements of discontent in abeyance. The fundamental issue which grew acute, in proportion as the war touched the lives and interests of the labouring class everywhere, was how the cherished fruits of agitation and organization were to be subordinated to imperative war necessities without losing, or dangerously submerging, the results of a long struggle for increased wages, shorter hours, greater liberties. An adjustment was reached in England after three years of disturbance, in France after the first realization of what German conquest meant, in the United States very rapidly, outside of I. W. W. and Germanized circles, in Canada rather quickly by the great mass of the workers, but more slowly by their official leaders.

The growth of Unionism in Canada had been steady and the membership of organized Labour increased from 133,132 in 1911 to 166,163 in 1914 and then, owing to war conditions and partly to recruiting, fell to 143,343 in 1915 — rising again to 160,407 in 1916. In this latter year there were 1,842 local Trades Union branches and, up to its close, 22,192 enlistments of members. The proportion of organized to unorganized Labour appears in the fact shown in the 1910 Census that there were 987,302 male workers in the building trades, domestic service, manufacturing establishments, mining, and transportation interests of Canada; there were many more mixed and merged in other occupations and the membership of Labour Unions was about one in eight of the total male workers of the country. So, in the United States, where in 1910 the Census showed 27,194,914 engaged in manual labour, with 7·7 per cent members of labour organizations. Upon the whole, organized labour stood by the country and its Government in this period; it aided in the Compulsory Registration of 1918, and, though opposed to Conscription through its chief

officials, fell in, finally, with the popular decision both as workmen and as Canadians; it held disputes and strikes to a minimum which in three years of war included only 162, with 38,975 men involved, as compared with 361 and 110,000 men in the preceding three years—though in the fourth year (1917) there was an increase to 148 disputes and 48,329 men; it sent altogether about 30,000 men to the front in voluntary enlistment, though unorganized labour showed a total estimated at 130,000 in 1917, and totalling for both elements 200,000 before the end of the war. As an organization, and led by the men already mentioned, the Trades and Labour Congress opposed military or industrial Conscription, or war regulation of labour, denounced the War-time Election Act or alien disfranchisement, favoured the formation of an independent Labour party of the British pacifist type, demanded pensions for mothers and old age, urged the "conscription of wealth." Eventually organized Labour took part in a Conference with the Government in January, 1918, and discussed the organization of man-power for the prosecution of the war, national registration, the conscription of alien labour and the representation of labour on Government Commissions. It may be added that such strikes as did occur in these years were largely in mines such as those of Alberta District No. 17 of the United Mine Workers of America, the British Columbia mines and those of Northern Ontario, where I. W. W. and alien workmen caused most of the trouble.

One of the vital economic problems of the war on this continent was that of coal supply and Government control of fuel consumption. Coal energy was behind industrial work, munitions and transportation and all these factors were of prime importance. Canada depended especially upon the United States for her anthracite coal and the Government concentrated its efforts on securing adequate imports from that source. Mr. C. A. Magrath was appointed Fuel Controller in July, 1917, and during

the winter of that year Canada's fuel requirements were exceedingly high. War industries had been speeded up and this meant increased requirements in bituminous coal, whilst the demands for anthracite were excessive because of the abnormally severe winter. On the American side of the line the same conditions prevailed and Canada was fortunate in obtaining from the United States larger tonnages of both bituminous and anthracite coal than had been imported in any previous year. Its people experienced periods of "heatless days," the regulated stoppage of all industries, the closing of theatres and other conservation measures. In November, 1917, new regulations were enforced and provision made for appointment of provincial fuel administrators and municipal fuel commissioners, while profits in the coal trade were restricted to fifty cents a ton. The winter of 1918–19 proved unexpectedly mild and many problems of scarcity and possibilities of privation were successfully met or averted. The figures of importation in 1916–18 illustrate the increased demand for coal and the nature of the problem:

Year ending March 31	Bituminous Tons, net	Anthracite Tons, net
1916	9,807,972	4,427,330
1917	13,545,877	4,572,440
1918	17,331,177	5,253,731

Another condition of indirect economic importance was the work of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research — a body appointed by and co-operating with the Government in an advisory capacity. Its object was to tabulate lines of action for developing the more scientific production of manufactured products, whether for war or peace-time. Under the leadership of Dr. A. B. Maccallum, F.R.S., much useful work was done in respect to flax cultivation, cold storage, the Fraser River salmon question and plant and animal diseases; regarding industrial and after-war problems such as hydro-electric power, potash, phosphate supply, nitrogen fixation, use of munition plants,

Western lignite coal, soil survey and land classification; as to special questions like forestry and man-power, or technical and scientific problems such as the investigation of tar-fog and the utilization of waste straw for the production of gas. Inquiries into chemistry subjects of specific nature ran up to nearly 100 in number. The Housing problem was an economic issue developed by increased industrial production and the fact that in every Canadian centre it became impossible to obtain adequate living facilities for the workmen, or men of moderate means, in days of high rents and high prices. Eventually, early in 1919, the Dominion Government appropriated $25,000,000 to lend to the Provinces at 5 per cent, so that they, in turn, could lend it to individual contractors and builders, workers or returned soldiers, for the construction of small dwellings. Approximately it was allotted as follows: Prince Edward Island, $326,000; Nova Scotia, $1,716,000; New Brunswick, $1,225,000; Quebec, $6,980,000; Ontario, $8,781,000; Manitoba, $1,586,000; Saskatchewan, $1,716,000; Alberta, $1,304,000; British Columbia, $1,366,000. Ontario undertook to advance $2,000,000 additional to its allotment, or a total of $10,781,000. The scheme was not fully worked out at the time of writing, but its urgency and popular advantages were clear.

Amongst the many-sided problems of the war, Prohibition of the liquor traffic was one of the most complex and curious. It was claimed to be a great moral issue, it was said to be essential as a physical factor in the improvement of the race, it was supported strenuously as an economic element in the enforcement of public economy and the consequent increase in private and national resources available for war work. All the provinces adopted it in some form or another during 1914–18, and it proved, in fact, to be one of the most extraordinary popular movements on record. In every province of Canada except British Columbia and Ontario the legislation was permanent in character and

could hardly be called war measures, though no doubt influenced and aided by war conditions. In Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island it was adopted by a vote of the electors without any qualification as to the future. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec it was made law by legislative action. In each of these Provinces, however, the greater portion of the territory was "dry" by Local Option before the provincial law had been passed. In Ontario a plebiscite was to be taken on the issue when the soldiers had returned. Whether economic, or moral, or an indirect result, as in the United States, of war psychology, there was no doubt of the powerful effect of this wave of sentiment which swept away an institution of centuries, an industry of a hundred millions of dollars, a habit engrained in private life and character, an individual right or liberty which was almost fundamental in its nature. During 1917–18, also, the Dominion Government issued a series of regulations controlling the liquor traffic wherever existing — in order to prevent waste, promote thrift, conserve financial resources and increase natural efficiency. Provincial Prohibition laws were strengthened by the prohibition of import into the Dominion, and in March, 1918, by the prohibition of manufacture and of traffic in liquor between the provinces.

Another development of a different nature but of essentially war-time character was the sudden and uncalled-for yet general grant of voting rights to women. Most of the provinces fell into line, including Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario; the Dominion gave the vote to soldiers' wives and near relations, and finally, in 1918, a full and equal franchise to all women; Quebec remained firm in its opposition.

The Banks in Canada had much to do with the prosperity and progressive action and policy of the Dominion in these years. They upheld public and private credit so that business ran smoothly and capital could adjust itself to new

and strange conditions; they preserved to the country a stability of character and reputation which was of national importance, of Imperial and war value; they contributed largely and generously to all public war objects and, in short, guided the financial ship of state with patriotic feeling and business skill. The Canadian system had proved an excellent one in times of peace, suited to a sparsely-settled and far-flung country, capable of maintaining a flexible supply of money for changing seasons, fitted for the transfer of the surplus in one section to meet the needs of another perhaps 3,000 miles away. It also proved its effectiveness in these strenuous years of war. After the first critical days of August, 1914, the confidence of Canadians in their system had been complete and their deposits on demand and notice increased from $1,012,739,990 on December 31, 1914, to $1,144,680,651 at the close of 1915, to $1,303,215,134 in 1916, to $1,565,319,884 in 1917, to $1,669,507,617 in 1918; a total increase of deposits in four years of war of over $600,000,000. The fact that this great increase took place in face of 5 or 5½ per cent war bonds, and at an average interest rate of only 3 per cent, spoke volumes for popular support of the Banks.

Meantime, also, Bank clearings, after a partial collapse in the first war-months, grew with the development of war business and production and at the end of each year the total was as follows: 1915, $7,797,430,809; 1916, $10,557,060,950; 1917, $12,469,426,435; 1918, $13,776,332,726. A natural tendency of these years of curtailment in expenditures and shortage in men was a halt in the creation of Bank branches — a check in the tremendous organization of offices which had gone on during the previous decade and which now proceeded on sedate lines during the war years from 3,047 in 1914 (December 31) to 3,087 in 1915, 3,116 in 1916, and 3,214 in 1917. Meanwhile, the Canadian Bankers' Association, of which E. L. Pease of the Royal Bank of Canada was President, became a war-power in the country

through its co-operation and loyal support of Government policy and the Finance Minister. The Banks had advanced in 1916 $100,000,000 to the Imperial authorities for munitions; six Banks, a little later, loaned $20,000,000 additional as a sort of syndicate for buying wheat and storing it over the winter; in January, 1917, the Banks bought Canadian treasury bills for $50,000,000, maturing early in 1918; in July and August another $70,000,000 of 3½ months' bills, and in October $75,000,000, which matured in 1919; they facilitated the sale of $1,000,000,000 of Canadian securities in the Canadian market, lent money to customers for this purpose and lost, inevitably, a portion of their deposits, which may or may not have come back to the individual bank in other forms; toward the close of 1917 they gave a credit to the Imperial Government, through the Wheat Export Company, of $100,000,000 for the purchase of grain while a further sum of $80,000,000 was placed at the disposal of British representatives for the purchase of cheese, bacon and other foodstuffs; they financed munition and war-supply plants, held the wheels of trade and credit and production firm, helped shipbuilding, encouraged thrift, preached caution, practiced economy; they aided the Minister of Agriculture in the promotion of production and the expansion of live-stock, and lent money to the farmers on crops and live-stock under new Parliamentary enactments; contributed largely year by year to the Patriotic Fund, the British and Canadian Red Cross, Belgian Relief, the Y. M. C. A., etc., and purchased or offered to do so, large blocks of War loans. The enlistment from Bank staffs was large, representative, spontaneous, and ran from an assistant general manager to thousands of junior clerks — the total to January, 1918, being 7,741 out of a male staff of 17,674 at the beginning of the war.

A most important matter during these years in its effects upon trade, finance, politics, and general prosperity was that of the purchase of war supplies for Great Britain or

the Allies, or for the Canadian Government, apart from munitions, which are dealt with separately. The totals were large and conditions of purchase or production were made difficult by the haste which prevailed everywhere in the first six months of the struggle; over-payments, mistakes due to inexperience, individual corrupt practices amongst some of the many contractors, were almost unavoidable. Data as to the exact totals of these purchases can only be approximate because, in most cases, the Allied Governments bought on their own accounts and the British Government also did so at times. During January, 1915, a British order for $4,000,000 worth of clothing was allotted to a number of Montreal firms; a little later F. W. Stobart, British purchasing agent, stated that he had ordered 1,000,000 canvas mess-tin covers from firms in Montreal, Ottawa, and Winnipeg; other orders given by him at this time included 200,000 woollen undershirts, 300,000 razors, 500,000 yards of white flannel, 14,000 flannel shirts, 50,000 packs, and 50,000 haversacks.

It was officially stated in February that in the previous six months of war the Militia Department had purchased $18,500,000 worth of supplies for the Canadian forces besides harness, saddlery, blankets, etc., for British and Allied Governments totalling $64,000,000 in value. The number of contracts entered into was estimated at 10,000. Other orders followed rapidly. A Walkerville firm obtained a large contract for uniforms and clothing; orders for about 50,000,000 buttons, altogether, were given; 2,000 box-cars were ordered by the Russian Government; the Wm. Davies Company, Ltd., which had been handling large Allied orders for canned meats since the beginning of the conflict, received enormous orders during the next two years. France, in 1915, contracted for 2,000 box-cars and 1,000 coal-cars from the Eastern Car Co., and Russia ordered fifty locomotives from the Canadian Locomotive Co. The Department of Militia, through its Acting Minister, Senator Lougheed,

issued a statement in July of that year to the effect that France had ordered through the Canadian Government 450,000 army blankets, 20,000 complete sets of saddlery, 20,000 saddle blankets, 20,000 sets of artillery harness, and 20,000 driving whips, with also 20,000 saddlery sets ordered by the Russian Government. In August, 1915, the Department of Trade and Commerce published a list of purchases to date made by the British Government through the Canadian authorities, and including $5,000,000 for harness and saddlery, $10,000,000 for clothing and hosiery, $23,000,000 for articles of food. In September orders valued at $7,000,000 came from Italy and Russia for blankets. So with France and succeeding orders for flour, railway rolling stock, frozen meat supplies, sectional wooden houses, etc. During 1916 Italy and Russia bought large supplies of locomotives, motor cars, railway sleepers, flannel goods and drugs. And so it went in 1917 and 1918, with increasing quantities and values.

Meanwhile, the supplies rushed to Valcartier by the Militia Department during the first whirling months of war had come in for Opposition attack and criticism — especially in the matter of boots. The net result of inquiries by a Special Commission and a Committee of the Commons was that the boots might have been better, and in some cases were bad, but that the Department did reasonably well under difficult conditions of strain and inexperience, and the necessity for speed. Scandals were heard in other connections — horses, drugs, field glasses, etc.— and some sordid charges were proven correct. Sir Robert Borden compelled two members of his own party in the Commons to resign their seats, and took high ground on the necessity of punishing such conduct; Sir Charles Davidson was appointed as a sort of traveling Judicial Commission to investigate conditions all over Canada in respect to Government contracts and supplies and, during 1915, did much careful work; a House of Commons Committee reported as

to the necessity for inaugurating "a system of purchase, inspection and audit that will adequately protect the country from irregularities and frauds" and urged that legislation be enacted along such lines.

The chief trouble seemed to be with middlemen seeking to make and increase profits; war, country, business honour, were in such cases put aside as of no importance in the pathway of personal gain. One of the great Government difficulties was the patronage list which existed under both parties and was said to include 8,000 persons or firms in all parts of Canada who, on the recommendation of local members of Parliament, had some sort of claim on Government contracts. That the Militia Department under these circumstances had handled $50,000,000 up to this time, with only a few thousands of expenditure to which serious exception could be taken, was claimed as very creditable to the Government. By the close of 1916 this departmental expenditure had run up into the hundreds of millions, with no serious charges advanced by a most alert, vigilant Opposition. By this time, also, the purchases of war supplies in Canada for the Dominion Government and for the British and Allied Governments had grown to very large dimensions. Following the Premier's 1915 action as to charges of corruption in the purchase of supplies he had appointed in May of that year the Hon. A. E. Kemp, G. F. Galt and H. Laporte as a War Purchasing Commission with complete control over this very large and vital part of the Government's contracts and expenditure. The arduous work of this body was done quietly but there were few public complaints and no scandals; in Canada this was a great practical tribute to the standing and policy of the Commission which had to award immense contracts in boots, woollen and knitted goods, uniforms, socks, saddlery, clothing, etc., for a constantly growing army. There were no further scandals in this connection — political or otherwise.

Another important War issue with an indirect economic importance and affecting many individuals in the country was the sentiment and action of foreign-born aliens or citizens and their treatment by the Government. According to the 1911 Census there were 752,000 foreign-born inhabitants of Canada, of whom 160,000 were Germans and Austrians. The usual calculation in this connection, and the figures usually taken from the Census, deal with origins — not actual birthplaces of living persons — and they afford much larger totals. By country of origin there were 393,000 Germans in Canada in 1911 and 129,000 Austro-Hungarians. Under these conditions the County of Waterloo, Ontario, had 36,567 of a German population and the City of Berlin a German population of 10,633 out of its total 15,196, though there were, in that city, only 1,258 persons actually born in Germany. Alberta had 63,000 Austrians and Germans, Manitoba 64,000, Ontario 203,000, Saskatchewan 110,000. There was in these years occasional trouble with such aliens, or citizens, as the case might be, some unpleasant instances of expressed hostility, various cases of seditious utterances and occasional fears of overt action or dislike to working with or beside enemy aliens. These conditions were shown in the Mines at Porcupine and at Fernie and were illustrated in Toronto by the Nerlich case. Upon the whole, however, a most generous public view of alien enemies was shown in their treatment at Internment Camps, in the Government's unwillingness to send individuals there for anything but the most obvious offences, in the immunity of Berlin, Ontario, during two years, from the presence of a Registrar of Alien Enemies, in the continued publication of German papers throughout Canada, in the retention of Germans in positions of a public, business and even Government nature. Nowhere was this generosity more clearly expressed than in the judgments of the Courts. The Judges and juries alike seemed averse to convictions for high treason, or for sedition, and tempered justice with more

than mercy upon occasion — as in the case of Emil Nerlich. In the West there were many such trials and not very much punishment, excepting through the Internment Camps which gradually accumulated several thousand prisoners. Western journals such as *Der Nordwesten* and *West Canada* of Winnipeg, *Der Courier* of Regina and *Der Herold* of Regina, were not always friendly to the Allied cause and in their presentation of news were inclined to be pro-German.

Upon the whole, however, the German population of Canada in 1914–18 was quiet, industrious, inoffensive, surrounded by people and controlled by Governments who did not seek for trouble or try to find sedition where it merely slumbered; the only overt action being the disfranchisement of enemy aliens in 1917. What would have happened if there had been an invasion from their kin in the United States or a sweeping of the seas by the German Navy is another matter and a purely speculative one. The prolonged controversies in Berlin, Ontario, or Kitchener as it afterwards became, seemed to indicate that there was a feeling lying dormant which could be aroused and expressed; there, as elsewhere, German pastors and teachers and writers from the United States were largely responsible. The action of the Government in steadily excluding — a few at a time — a mass of American-German literature and newspapers which came in from the United States helped in the avoidance of trouble and in preventing any open outbreak of hostility amongst the 700,000 persons of hostile origin in Canada. The fact that there was no open trouble during these trying years was important and proved that a process of incorporation into and with the Canadian people was surely progressing — in the West as amongst the long-settled German portions of Ontario.

CHAPTER XIII

WAR GIFTS AND PATRIOTIC WORK OF THE PEOPLE

In these years of war Canada contributed largely of money, supplies, products, labour. It was not, perhaps, all that its people could have offered in a period of great wealth-producing activities; but in effect it was excelled by no other part of the Empire in either personal labour or individual generosity. The English-speaking population of the country was not more than 5,000,000. To the Canadian Patriotic, Belgian Relief and Red Cross Funds, to Hospital, Regimental and Special Funds, to Y. M. C. A. and miscellaneous war-calls the people gave at least $95,000,000, of which the great bulk was in personal and not Government contributions; to the indirect aid of war charities and war interests the women of Canada gave, according to an estimate by the Prime Minister, $40,000,000 more — without publicity or advertisement; to the conduct of the War in recruiting, training and maintenance of troops the country gave in varied forms of Government expenditures, liability and Debt-increase a total of $1,436,000,000 or $192 per capita; to the British Government it lent for special Munition purchases a total of $100,000,000 over and above special advances from Britain. There was, of course, an obvious though indirect return in the manufacture and sale of munitions, or other war supplies to Britain and her Allies, which ran ahead of the entire total of war contributions. In the premises, however, the contributions were voluntary without direct return, or indeed thought of return; in the other case it was a matter of business, and if Canadians got the profits and handled the money they also did the work and provided the goods.

There was a splendid swing about the collections for Patriotic and Red Cross funds in all these years, which

reflected credit upon the system and the persons engaged as well as upon the generosity and sympathy of those who gave. The Canadian Patriotic Fund had the warm and continuous support of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught as its President and then of H. E. the Duke of Devonshire and the active efforts of Sir H. B. Ames, M.P., as its Hon.-Secretary; it was provided to meet the needs of wives, families and dependent relatives of those who had gone to the Front and to supplement the Pension and allowance arrangements of the Dominion Government. To it in the first five months of war Montreal gave $1,600,000 and Toronto $985,000; Winnipeg $722,000 and Ottawa $373,000, with $808,000 more from Hamilton, Halifax, London, Ottawa and Vancouver. In these totals were included $100,000 each from the Bank of Montreal and the C.P.R.; $50,000 each from the Canadian Bank of Commerce and the Royal Bank of Canada; the City of Montreal voted $150,000, Quebec City gave $20,000, Toronto and Ottawa voted $50,000 each, and Halifax $25,000.

Under the regulations defined in June, 1915, the Fund provided in an average case that the wife could receive $1.00 per day or $30.00 a month for herself; $7.50 per month for one child between 10 and 15 years old; $4.50 for one child between 5 and 10 years old; $3.00 per month for one child under 5 years; special allowances for other dependent relatives in actual residence and for temporary need such as accident, sickness, etc.—a gross estimated average amount of $45, less Government separation allowance of $20.00, and wages paid to or earnings received by members of the family. Originally initiated for 50,000 men it was found by August, 1915, after a year of war, that the needs and activities of the Fund were required for 200,000 men with the total steadily increasing and 25,000 families then under relief; that the $5,000,000 collected by that time would soon disappear and that $6,000,000 more would be wanted in the succeeding year; that the estimated

expenditures for the year ending August, 1916, would be nearly $8,000,000. As a matter of fact the disbursements of 1916 totalled $9,664,991, with receipts up to the close of that year amounting to $18,373,494 and a balance on hand of $4,000,000. During 1917 over $15,000,000 was collected for the Fund with 50,000 families dependent upon it at the beginning of the year. In the Toronto campaign of 1917 a four-days' effort to obtain 2½ millions brought $3,300,000; in Montreal a similar campaign and objective evoked $4,290,000 — including a $1,000,000 grant from the city. The rich men everywhere gave generously, the poorer in proportion. Up to the close of 1918 the total contributions — excluding Manitoba in the main as it had a separate Provincial organization — for all Canada were $45,411,078 of which Alberta gave $2,769,598, British Columbia $3,231,284, Manitoba (direct) $140,864, New Brunswick $1,385,983, Nova Scotia $1,779,890, Ontario $23,551,610, Prince Edward Island $128,638, Quebec $9,660,537, Saskatchewan $2,717,014, Yukon and North West Territories $45,656.

Much of the money needed for this Fund, and for the three special Dominion-wide appeals made for the British Red Cross Society which yielded a response of about $6,600,000, were obtained through local campaigns such as are referred to above and held in the larger centres of Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, etc. Leading business men like J. W. McConnell and W. M. Birks in Montreal, or E. R. Wood and Fred. Nicholls in Toronto, acted as Captains of teams which included other business or professional men and they devoted from one to four days in a persistent visitation of persons in allotted districts, in explanation of the need and of personal and patriotic reasons for generosity, in the collection of pledges and cash. Some of these organizations were wonderfully effective in the thorough nature of their preparations, advocacy and operation. The British Red Cross appeals were special ones; the Canadian

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Cambrai Cathedral

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig Congratulating Canadians Who Took Part in the Final Advance and Are Seen Leaving the Line for a Short Rest

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

The Tank — The Machine Gun's Master

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Trophies for the Public Square in the Home Town

Red Cross was a continuous and established organization working with headquarters at Toronto under direction from time to time of Surgeon-General Sterling Ryerson, Sir John Gibson, Colonel G. A. Sweeny, Hon. Colonel Noel Marshall, Senator James Mason, Mrs. A. M. Plumptre and others during four long years of continuous effort. Branches were formed all over Canada, totalling at the close of 1917, 772 in number and at the end of the War 1,403. Immense numbers of hospital garments and quantities of medical supplies, clothing, etc., were sent to London. These supplies increased steadily from year to year throughout the War in accordance with the ever-growing demand and initial figures for the few months up to the end of December, 1914, indicate the nature of the work. In this brief time the various articles shipped to London included 50,000 bandages, 20,000 blankets, 17,000 pillows, 40,000 shirts, 25,000 pairs of socks and about 24,000 other knitted items in a total of 733,000 garments. Supplies of cocoa, chocolate, arrowroot, cornstarch, jellies, lemons, oranges, sweaters, cholera belts, sleeping caps, pyjamas, socks, coal-oil stoves, and many other articles, were sent to Hospitals at Valcartier and Quebec. Twelve motor ambulances were purchased and five Hospitals attached to the 1st Contingent were equipped with Red Cross necessaries. The women of Calgary contributed a motor ambulance as did a number of individuals.

Meantime, Lieut.-Colonel Jeffrey H. Burland, of Montreal, had been appointed Commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross Society in London; upon his sudden death Lieut.-Colonel C. A. Hodgetts, M.D., of Ottawa, acceded to the post; in 1918 H. Blaylock succeeded Colonel Hodgetts. During the two years following 1914 the scope of operations of the Society were immensely increased — the funds collected up to the end of 1915 being $1,100,000 with returns of $900,000 more during 1916. The organization was in full operation as a Branch of the British Red Cross Society,

which was accepted by all civilized nations for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers or sailors and prisoners of war; it co-operated with the Army Medical Service in England and at the Front by collecting supplementary supplies for the military hospitals — for use when a great battle should exhaust the ordinary supplies; it provided additional motor ambulances, field kitchens and hospital trains; it undertook the special care and equipment of the Duchess of Connaught Hospital at Cliveden with its 1,000 beds; it appointed Lady Drummond as head of a most useful aid and information department associated with the general work in London. Supplies in ever larger quantities were forwarded from Canada and, fortnightly, there went from London packages to over 2,000 Canadian prisoners of war in Germany, while all wounded Canadians at the Front or in Britain benefited from the comforts sent. Money also was required and obtained to pay for the services of trained nurses and orderlies in special co-operation with the St. John Ambulance Brigade.

While this general work was going on hundreds of new branches were organized in Canada during the years of war, together with a large number of auxiliary societies in places too small to establish branches; a monthly *Bulletin* of information and suggestion was issued with hundreds of thousands of copies of pamphlets along similar lines; arrangements were made with the Railways and Express Companies under which nearly all Red Cross supplies, clothing, etc., were carried free — constituting a generous contribution in bulk to the funds of the Society; the Peak Hotel Hospital at Buxton was got under way by the Society through its representatives in England and large grants were made to it and other institutions; it was stated at a later period that the hospitals and institutions receiving supplies from the Canadian Society in England, France and other War zones numbered 100. The most important Canadian Red Cross Hospitals were those of Taplow,

Bushey Park, Buxton, Ramsgate, Petrograd (in London) and Joinville (near Paris). The organization provided thousands of hospital beds for the Canadian Medical Corps and sent food, tobacco and clothing to the value of $1,430,000. The regular staff were all volunteers and visited Canadians in Imperial Hospitals as well in those of Canada and provided them with necessities or luxuries to the extent of 450,000 parcels during the War.

An illustration of the work actually done in Canada and applicable to other years and other centres was given in a statement by W. R. Miller of the Montreal Branch (May 17, 1915): "We have sent some 15,000 cases of supplies to England, containing chiefly garments and surgical dressings made by the ladies of the Province. The contents of these cases are valued at over $100,000. We have sent four qualified nurses to the Front making ourselves responsible for their maintenance and upkeep. These ladies are now at Malta, tending the wounded from the Dardanelles. Owing to the generosity of private individuals we have sent two motor ambulances to France, and a third has been provided out of our funds and presented to the 6th Field Ambulance Corps recruited in this city. We have contributed $12,000 to the expense of our organization in England and we have expended since the outbreak of War some $55,000 while our monthly expenditure has now reached a total of over $5,000." Sir F. Williams-Taylor was Hon. Treasurer of a special local Fund of $100,000 in Montreal which at this time was collected without trouble. A little later the total of motor ambulances sent to the Front from this city was twenty and in the following years these ambulances ran into the hundreds from all parts of Canada and the Society as a whole was sending supplies through the British Association to Egypt, Lemnos, the Dardanelles, France, Belgium and wherever British troops were fighting.

The Canadian Hospitals which it assisted with supplies and comforts numbered 15 at the end of 1915 and contained

10,480 beds, and these figures were immensely increased in succeeding years. There was a Red Cross warehouse for supplies in London and a large depôt at Boulogne, besides advance stores closer to the Front for supplying the Field Ambulances and casualty clearing hospitals. Hundreds of nurses and male hospital attendants were also sent over from Canada and by the close of 1917 $10,000,000 worth of supplies or cash had been received in the Dominion for this organization; at the close of 1918 the total was over $20,000,000 which included goods or supplies valued at $12,600,000 and cash contributions of $7,771,000; the total Red Cross collections for the whole British Empire was $70,000,000.

Much was done by Canada for Belgian relief and the Fund constituted an always-popular appeal. Canadians felt deep sympathy, a sincere and unstinted admiration, for the gallant Belgian people. To the sufferers from German invasion, to the wives and widows and orphans, to the starving population of the ravaged country, they expressed practical as well as sentimental sympathy. A central Committee was early formed in Montreal under the patronage of H.R.H. the Governor-General with M. Maurice Goor, Belgian Consul-General at Ottawa, as President of the Executive, C. I. de Sola, Consul at Montreal, as Vice-President and M. Henri Prud'homme as Hon. Treasurer. On September 22, 1914, an Appeal was issued to the public declaring that: "The most suitable contribution in kind would be clothing of every description, new or old, for men, women and children, blankets of wool or cotton, shoes, flour, oatmeal, sugar, dried fruits, dried vegetables, etc." Many shiploads of these would be needed and contributions in money were to be employed for the purchase of goods in Canada and payment of freight to Belgium. The goods were consigned by the Central Executive at Montreal to the Belgian Minister in London who handed them over to the London Commission for Relief in Belgium — a body under

the patronage of the Spanish and American Ambassadors with H. C. Hoover (an American) as Chairman and with a backing and membership largely United States in origin. This body claimed to see that all contributions and shipments reached Rotterdam in due course and were thence sent to Brussels and distributed under its auspices.

It was estimated in 1914 that 1,000,000 Belgians had gone to England, France and Holland and were being cared for in those countries, that about 7,000,000 civilians remained in Belgium with about 80,000 tons of food a month required during the winter to feed this population — the inference being accepted that the Germans would not do so. England gave free passage through the North Sea for such supplies and the German Government agreed, eventually, not to commandeer them for its troops. The Dominion Government put a vote of $50,000 through Parliament for this fund and the Provinces — especially Nova Scotia, under the energetic impetus of the Hon. G. H. Murray, Prime Minister — organized co-operative Committees. The Alberta Government sent 5,000 bags of flour and the Government of Saskatchewan $5,000; the Belgian Relief Fund of Winnipeg contributed $24,500, the Government of British Columbia gave $5,000, the Government of Manitoba $5,000 and the various Belgian Relief Committees followed with considerable sums in cash or goods for shipment. Merchandise, goods, products, were sent to the Executive from counties and townships, cities and villages, farmers and business men, or collected by local committees. Large steamers were chartered and sent loaded to the deck with tons of supplies valued at several million dollars. The work continued in varied forms during succeeding years with incessantly active Committees, special collections and appeals, gifts and shipments of all kinds to an estimated total (Dec. 19, 1918) of $1,642,104 in cash and $1,512,000 in supplies.

A Canadian and, indeed, a world-wide organization which did much war work in the later stages of the conflict was

the Y. M. C. A. This organization appealed to many interests and humanitarian instincts. It was essentially social, it was, in part, religious, it had enough business management and principle and practice to make and keep the Association a financial success, it provided wholesome centres for the amusement, instruction and physical development of young men and it attracted, therefore, the support of parents and guardians and all who were interested in the welfare of this class. In the War it was pacific but helpful and its many workers throughout Canada proved enthusiastic in raising money for organization abroad and in sending supplies to Britain and the Front which were sold for a moderate sum to the soldiers and sometimes given away — as with tea or coffee — to the wounded; in politics it was a Prohibition organization, a moral reform agency, and did not, as a rule, interfere with propaganda of any other kind — war causes or controversies, for instance, or what is usually termed patriotism — though its leaders took up such issues as War Loans, Red Cross and Patriotic Fund subscriptions; in religion it was a constant exponent of what its organ *Canadian Manhood* described, in October, 1917, as sending forth the men in Khaki "not as Canada's army but as representatives of Christ."

Originally a British organization founded by the late Sir George Williams in London on June 6, 1844 (Montreal, Nov. 25, 1851; Boston, Dec. 29, 1851), it had spread all over the world and become, before the World War, a great international factor in social and religious work. The military branch of the Canadian organization carried on a special work with Canadian troops Overseas in France or Belgium and had 76 centres in England — additional to the enormous number of workers in those countries under the auspices of the British Y. M. C. A. It had regular camps and units, base camps, convalescent camps and hospitals. In Canada there were 38 centres of operation, including camps, barracks, Red Triangle Clubs, hospitals, naval sta-

tions and troop trains. There were in 1917, 133 secretaries on the Overseas staff having honorary commissions in the C. E. F. Of these, 50 received their pay and allowances from the Y. M. C. A., while the remainder were paid by the Government. In Canada, also, 100 civilian secretaries were employed for military purposes by the Association. More than $4,500,000 was given by Canadians in voluntary contributions to aid the work during the War. The Y. M. C. A. had about 50,000 members in Canada; its chief work in 1918 was organizing the Khaki University, or educational system in the Army and amongst its reserves in England.

Another Society doing good work of a war-time and patriotic character was the Navy League of Canada. Formed in June, 1917, with W. G. Ross of Montreal and Æmilius Jarvis of Toronto as the chief promoters and Presidents, respectively, in 1917 and 1918, its platform included the following policy: (1) A thoroughly organized educational campaign in matters pertaining to the Navy and Mercantile Marine by lectures, by the circulation of literature and by placing readers in Public Schools; (2) to raise funds for the relief of British and Canadian sailors and their dependents, for Sailors' homes, Institutes and Hospitals in Canada and throughout the Empire; (3) to encourage volunteer Naval Brigades for boys and young men in which they could receive practical and theoretical instruction in seamanship to prepare them for service in the Mercantile Marine. Provincial Branches were formed everywhere and local Branches soon ran into the hundreds with a membership of 50,000 and the publication of an official organ called *The Sailor*. In 1918 a special effort for funds resulted in the collection of $1,700,000 while at the annual meeting of that year a Naval policy for Canada was urged which should disregard politics, be guided by Naval strategy and advocate the establishment of a Canadian Fleet standardized with that of Britain and placed in war-time under one supreme command.

There were many other Patriotic war organizations in Canada. The Knights of Columbus showed patriotism in various ways and in 1917 collected $80,000 in a Catholic Army Hut campaign which obtained $13,000,000 in the United States; they collected another $1,144,000 in 1918 for a similar purpose. These Huts were found to be most useful and desirable amongst Catholic troops at the Front but, also, were thrown open to all who wished to take advantage of their privileges. At the close of 1918 the organization had Huts at all the chief Canadian Camps in England — Bramshott, Witley, Shorncliffe, Seaford, Rhyl, Frensham, Pond, Bexhill, Cooden, Buxton, Epsom and Purfleet. In France the work was done through Catholic Chaplains and tents and marquees were erected at various points in the Canadian lines — including the Lens sector, Bonn in Germany, etc. Writing paper, books, newspapers and magazines were supplied in large quantities.

The Salvation Army in Canada worked in close touch with the British organizations and had numbers of certified workers and army chaplains ministering to the needs of the soldiers; many motor ambulances were contributed and the Hostels and Huts of this peace army, on the field and in Great Britain, were much appreciated by the men; relief work was carried on in various devastated war areas such as Belgium, Italy and Serbia, though it would be difficult to exactly differentiate the Canadian share in this respect; the return of troops to Canada found the Army agents and officials working eagerly in every direction to promote the comfort and well-being of the soldiers on sea and shore. Thousands of members enlisted and in more than one centre when the Conscription Act came into force there were no Salvationists left who came within its scope; Home Leagues composed of women were formed in association with local Salvation Army Corps and they worked assiduously in Red Cross supplies, socks and woollen garments; Social Service Societies looked after those at home who

became involved in the casualty lists which brought so much sorrow to the homes, while much sympathetic work also was done in the Hospitals; Hostels were opened for soldiers and returned men at Toronto, Kingston, London, Montreal, Halifax, St. John, Chatham, Windsor, etc.; the Women's Hospitals of the Army at six Canadian centres were utilized for the wives of Overseas men and at Toronto and Ottawa Homes were established for war-time orphans. The Overseas Club with active branches in Toronto, Halifax and half a dozen other centres, but without any Canadian headquarters or combined action, did good work along certain lines of war activity, such as a Tobacco Fund for soldiers and Sailors and a Fund for Prisoners of War.

During these years the work of the women of Canada was generous, continuous, persistent. Everywhere, in hamlet and countryside, in town and city, they were busy organizing, collecting, sewing, knitting. The Daughters of the Empire, perhaps, were most conspicuous because of their large organization; they were not any more earnest, or helpful individually, than thousands outside the ranks of that body. The Women's Institutes in country districts of Ontario and British Columbia and the West were energetic; Women's Red Cross and Patriotic Fund branches were many and effective; the Toronto Women's Patriotic League was enthusiastic and useful in its labours as was the Women's Toronto Conservative Club and the Toronto Women's Liberal Club. In Montreal Lady Drummond gave a keynote to local feeling when she said at a meeting of women there before leaving for England in 1915 to take up still wider work: "We shall have to give up dances, dinner parties, etc., and spend our money on necessaries for our soldiers' families, even if it means personal deprivations." The Women's Grain Grower Associations of the West did much useful work. A National Service Committee, composed of Presidents and a few other members of all the nationally-organized Women's Societies in Canada, acted

usefully as a channel through which field comforts were sent to the Canadian War Contingent Association in London and in preventing confusion or overlapping amongst the many Associations working throughout Canada.

The Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire, under Mrs. A. E. Gooderham's leadership, with 700 Chapters and 40,000 members, did splendid service. Its early initiative had, in 1914, obtained the fund for a Hospital Ship which totalled $283,107 and of which, eventually the British Army Council received $100,000 for the purchase of 40 motor ambulance cars for use at the Front or in England, while the Naval authorities accepted $182,000 to build the Canadian Women's Block of the Hospital at Haslar, near Portsmouth. Following this incident and indeed during all the war-years each Chapter of the Order became a centre of local work and patriotism; in this they often had the active co-operation of the National Council of Women's branches, the local W. C. T. U., the Women's Institute and other Women's organizations. Families of hastily-called soldiers and volunteers were looked after and personally visited; comforts of every kind made or purchased, given or despatched, for either local troops or the general body of men; Belgian, Red Cross and other Funds were loyally and earnestly supported by personal gifts or collections and by the proceeds of flag-days, concerts, entertainments, lectures, bazaars; where troops were concentrated for training, etc., local reading or recreation rooms were established, entertainments given, temperance canteens organized; money was sometimes raised for special objects such as Motor ambulances and everywhere the members of the Order flung themselves into some form of patriotic work and this included the making, or giving, or shipment of socks, sleeping-caps, flannels, woollen belts, wristlets, "housewives," cholera belts, mufflers, cigarettes, pipes and tobacco, books and magazines, soap, chocolate, candies and an infinite variety of similar supplies and comforts.

In connection with Red Cross work the supplies furnished by this Order were equally varied and included such necessaries or comforts as chloroform, ether, ammonia and iodine, rubber sheeting and tubing, adhesive plaster and atomizers. The variety of gifts was infinite and included, also respirators, sand-bags, electric torches, hot-water bags, ambulance rugs, blankets, plum puddings, surgical instruments, mouth-organs, cases of castor oil, bandages of every kind, fracture pillows, hair pillows, feather pillows, linen, old and new, comfort bags, games of cards, puzzles, chess, Victrolas and records. The total value of contributions by the I. O. D. E. during these war-years was estimated at $5,000,000. The National Council of Women, the Victorian Order of Nurses, the Girl Guides, the Alumnae of the Universities, also were active in different forms of war-work; the National Ladies' Guild for British and Foreign Sailors under Lady Willison of Toronto; Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, a British institution organized in Canada by Miss C. Welland Merritt did excellent work in different ways; 2,400 women went Overseas as Nurses in the C. E. F. and served in England, France, Belgium, Egypt, Greece, and Russia. They were posted for duty in base hospitals, clearing stations, ambulance trains and hospital ships, and there were also 527 on duty in Canada. They had war casualties of 18 deaths by bombs or submarines with 15 dead of disease. The Canadian V. A. D.'s. on active service were 342, and the honours awarded to Nurses, etc., from Canada included 4 Military Medals and 192 Royal Red Cross Medals of the 1st and 2nd class.

In these and other ways much was done and done well; women in every grade of life and labour did something, gave something, helped in some way; if there were a number who were ignorant or selfish or indifferent the proportion was less than amongst the men. Society everywhere was very quiet after August, 1914, and through the succeeding years; display in dress and luxury in entertainment, or expendi-

ture, were abandoned very largely, or at least upon the surface. The domestic labour problem, too, became very complex and difficult as so many working women came into incomes which relieved them from the absolute necessity of outside work while, also, large numbers of young girls became independent through their marriage with men going to the Front, and others found the monetary rewards of factories and munition work far beyond those of domestic service. The problem directly affected social and war conditions. Many women found that they had to do housework and look after their children as well as perform patriotic duties; many younger and unattached women in sudden possession of large wages gave little time to any work of a patriotic character. As a matter of statistics the women in Munition work ran to a total of 20,000 at one time; thousands of women did voluntary work on the farms during the Food production campaigns and more than 1,000 young women were employed in the Royal Air Force; about 5,000 women were employed in Civil Service work of a war character, while 75,000 gave their services in the compilation of the National Register in June, 1918.

A movement which appealed to many persons and received a most generous response sprang out of the whispered need, early in 1915, for more machine guns at the Front. It was announced in January that the Judges of the Appellate and High Courts at Toronto had subscribed a sufficient amount to provide an automatic machine gun complete, with spare parts, accessories and ammunition, which they intended to present to the Osgoode Hall Rifle Association. At the same time John C. Eaton of Toronto donated $100,000 for the purchase of an armoured train of 40 powerful motor trucks, armed with Colt automatic guns and to be manned by a detail of 200 men. To Col. W. S. Hughes' Battalion at Kingston the officials of the Penitentiary presented two Machine guns in April; J. B. and Mrs. Fraser of Ottawa donated three additional guns to the 8th

C. M. R.; on June 8 Huntley R. Drummond of Montreal forwarded the Government a cheque for $100,000 to provide 125 Maxim guns for the Expeditionary Force, in addition to the complement to be supplied by the Militia Department. A similar donation of $100,000 by James Carruthers of Montreal was also announced.

Then the popular wave began to move. On July 6, and within a few days following, a number of Vancouver gentlemen subscribed $1,000 each for the purchase of machine guns for a local Battalion and $30,000 was collected; Victoria followed suit with funds for sixteen guns; on July 17 a semi-official despatch in the press from Ottawa stated that donations should be over and above the ordinary Government complement of four guns to a Battalion and that the money should be sent to the Department of Finance. The movement spread rapidly and Mr. Lougheed, Acting Minister of Militia, stated that the Government would increase the official complement from four to eight guns in each Battalion. In rapid succession there followed the announcements that St. John business men had collected money to supply nine guns for the 26th Battalion; that 40 machine guns had been subscribed by Western localities, ranging from Peace River Crossing to Calgary and Edmonton, for the army or for local battalions; that at a great mass-meeting in Toronto and in the presence of Sir George Foster, Acting Prime Minister of Canada, a contribution of $500,000 for the purchase of 500 guns was offered by the Government of Ontario; that the citizens of Halifax had raised the money for 20 guns and Cape Breton Island for 30; that the citizens of London had collected funds for 20 guns, Orillia 10, Brantford 21, Hamilton 175, Quebec 23, Montreal 75. It was estimated early in September, when Sir Sam Hughes returned from England, that $1,500,000 had been subscribed. Then something happened. The Minister apparently did not approve of the movement and further collections were checked with a total in hand on

April 5, 1916, after certain amounts had been returned to subscribers, of $1,265,000.

Another interesting form of Canadian aid in the War was the gift of Aeroplanes. Like that of machine guns it was a concrete reality to the average man or corporation; though it did not attain the same popularity. In Montreal, on July 17–20, G. R. Lighthall, Hon. Secretary of the Overseas Club, had letters in the press urging Canadian subscriptions to aid that organization in its work for an Aircraft Flotilla. It appeared that H.M. the King was Patron, that the Army Council approved of the movement, that the cost of an approved aeroplane ran from $7,500 to $11,000. The *Star* opened a Fund in Montreal to which Robert Hampson contributed $10,768, and the Board of Trade, largely through the efforts of G. F. Benson, President, a total of $13,062; the British Empire Grain Co. contributed $10,750 and other sums were collected, making a total of $42,480 or enough to buy four aeroplanes. Elsewhere Major R. W. Leonard of St. Catharines gave $7,500 for a Biplane, the Province of Nova Scotia $11,250 for a gun-mounted machine and W. J. Gage, Toronto, offered $10,000 for the same purpose. Still another source of activity was the Overseas Club and its Tobacco Fund. Up to September 30, 1915, the total collected in Canada was $56,000 and the work proceeded steadily during the ensuing year. So with the Seamen's Hospital Fund and the British and Foreign Sailors' Society, and the British Blue Cross Fund.

The religious interests of Canada took a deep and practical interest, as a whole, in the War. There were exceptions, of course, where the inherent, inherited Pacifism of a century made militancy impossible even in a great Empire crisis; there were good people who thought more of preventing cigarettes reaching Canadian soldiers than of providing men and munitions to fight the enemy; there were men in all churches and a few pastors, also, affected by secular influences which discouraged recruiting. The

Roman Catholic Church was the most numerous of Canadian religious divisions and it worked by individuals rather than in any organized form; though its head was international, with a constant prayer for peace, leaders in England such as Cardinal Bourne, Father Vaughan or the Duke of Norfolk, and in Canada such as Archbishop Sinnott, Archbishop Bruchési, Bishop Fallon, Archbishop Casey or Archbishop McNeil, were earnest in patriotic utterance and work. Methodism, with its million adherents in Canada and its reputation for clear and consistent advocacy of Peace, was foremost in work for the War. The Rev. Dr. Carman, Dr. Chown, Dr. Hincks, were unceasing in their appeals to the people to think and act; the *Christian Guardian,* during two years, published lists of Ministers' sons who had volunteered for the Front and who bore such names as Chown, Burns, Creighton, Crews, Moore, Rose, Burwash, Crummy and Bowles.

From the Church of England much, naturally, was expected; much was given by her million people. They had been specially trained in loyalty to British connection while the Church herself owed her birth, and much of her development in Canada, to the Mother-church in the Old Land. Bishop Richardson of Fredericton was specially active in his speeches while Archbishop Matheson of Winnipeg sent a son to the Front and Principal Lloyd of Saskatoon three sons, the Rev. Dr. F. G. Scott of Quebec was a militant and gallant figure at the Front; it was estimated that fifty per cent of all Canadian recruits belonged to this Church. Presbyterianism was represented in the trenches by Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon and Rev. Dr. John Pringle, and in eloquent appeals for men and still more men by Rev. Dr. W. T. Herridge, Rev. J. J. McCaskill and many others, and by a Resolution of its General Assembly declaring that: "We consider the precipitation of this conflict has been a crime against humanity, and that the force which is arrayed against us in ruthless and savage warfare threatens the

progress of Christianity and the very existence of civilization." Many Ministers — Presbyterian and Methodist chiefly — volunteered for active service as privates. As to the Chaplain service at the Front, Capt. C. G. D. Roberts in a letter published on February 10, 1917, declared that the Canadian Service had been "so successful, so rich in results, and conducted along such broadly humane lines, that it is impossible to do it justice." As to the rest:

> The organization as a whole guards the interests of each communion; and guards them impartially. The representatives of the different Churches upon the establishment is strictly proportionate to the strength of their membership among the troops. That Church whichever it may be, which sends the smallest number of its adherents into the field, naturally requires the smallest representation. Any form of sectarian propaganda is firmly ruled out . . . It would be contrary to the whole self-sacrificing spirit of the C.C.S. to single out by name any of those who have distinguished themselves by deeds of individual heroism. In some cases such achievements have received official recognition. In other cases they have escaped or evaded such recognition.

The Universities of Canada acted with an almost surprising patriotism. Some of them had stood for a sort of cosmopolitan culture which, in atmosphere at least, had rather patronised patriotism as being a local product, something outside the curriculum and quite apart from the sphere of a great institution of learning. Germany and the United States afforded ideals which were thought to require cultivation as they undoubtedly did afford vital elements of scientific research and philosophic learning. Queen's of Kingston might lead in constructive Imperialism through the late Principal Grant, or McGill of Montreal might hold aloft a banner of Empire unity through Principal Peterson, but Toronto, in particular, preferred to hold the balance on great public issues. It allowed the students to listen with impartial attention to Henri Bourassa or to Lord Milner,

to enjoy J. S. Ewart's academic separatism or Alfred Noyes' peace ideals, to avoid the formation of military organizations, or Canadian Clubs, or Empire Societies amongst its members.

With the coming of war everything changed. From Halifax to Vancouver, with one or two exceptions, such as the Hagarty incident in Toronto and, later on, the Robinson episode at Knox, there was general light and leading in war-thought and war-work, in patriotic feeling and action. The University of Toronto was not as well prepared in matters of military readiness as McGill but it very soon ran the historic Montreal institution closely in a patriotic rivalry which was well maintained throughout the War. By December 9, 1914, this University had nearly 100 men on Salisbury Plain; many at Exhibition Park in training for the Front and others in different camps throughout the country; 1,800 men were in the Officers' Training Corps with 80 members of the Faculty acting as officers and hundreds of others in the Corps waiting for a chance to go to the Front. By March, 1915, 307 undergraduates had enlisted and a General Hospital of 1,040 beds, which afterwards won distinction at Salonika and elsewhere, was under organization with $50,000 collected for its equipment and the provision of supplies of varied nature. Out of 4,000 registered students there were at the close of 1915, 811 enlisted men together with 1,003 graduates and 82 members of the Staff. By the end of 1918 the University of Toronto had sent on active service from its staff and former staffs, its graduates, undergraduates and former students and its Faculty of Education, 5,308 men; its killed or dead on Service totalled 531, its wounded, missing, etc., were stated at 867, while 242 of its enlisted strength had been mentioned in despatches with 495 winning decorations which included the following: V.C. 1; C.B. 6; C.M.G. 22; K.C.V.O. 1; D.S.O. 69, and M.C. 245. Many of the latter had bars and there were flying Honours, etc., in addition.

Other Ontario Universities in the first years sent about 900 men on active service; McGill of Montreal contributed a General Hospital Unit as did Laval, the French-Canadian institution, and the former also sent 1,318 graduates, undergraduates and staff to the Front; other Eastern institutions, chiefly Maritime Province Universities, contributed 900 more men and officers; the Western response to the war-call was instant and large and the total for all Canada up to the beginning of 1916 was 5,000 graduates on active service from Universities and colleges and 170 members of the various staffs. In 1916–18 there was a steady stream of enlistment from these institutions — especially into the Princess Patricias. By the close of the War, according to an estimate supplied to the writer by Sir Robert Falconer of Toronto University, the Canadian graduates or undergraduates on active service, totalled 17,000 at least with probably 1,200 fatal casualties.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FRENCH CANADIANS AND THE WAR

To Canada the Province of Quebec and its people presented a rather difficult problem during certain War controversies and conditions of these years. The average French Canadian, however, did not himself know that there was such a problem or that he was a part of it. The two million people of French origin in that Province or scattered in other Provinces of Canada looked upon their race as the pioneer settlers, as the founders of the nation, as the most devoted sons of the soil. They were much more detached from their old-time Motherland than were English, Scotch or Irish Canadians; no common ties of language, education and religious sympathy held them to Canadian national unity. They were detached from the other Provinces of Canada by not only the separate local laws which all Provinces had but in a separate basis for their laws reaching back to the days and code of Napoleon; they had, of course, a different language and, upon the whole, a different religion; their isolation really constituted the problem which had, more than once, made them passive when other Canadians were in a white-heat of excitement, or made them boil over with enthusiasm when the rest of Canada was cool and critical.

The acuteness or otherwise of this problem always has depended upon the degree to which some politician or political enthusiast was able to play upon the keys of the racial and religious instrument before him. In this respect the French Canadian leader was no different, except in detail, from any other Canadian. Politicians in Ontario appealed at times to the Orange lodges or to some of the varied forms which prejudice or sentiment took against

Roman Catholicism or French racialism; in the West other politicians appealed to local feelings in favour of Free trade or of United States ideas such as Direct Legislation; elsewhere financial or industrial interests were urged to safeguard Canadian and individual welfare by Protection. The difference lay in the fact that in Ontario or the West a world-wide, or at the least a Canadian-wide, discussion of the subject was available through a common speech and press; in Quebec when a politician or publicist, the leader or the press, raised an issue involving Ontario, or Manitoba, or the Empire, there was no common ground of language and press on which it could be fought out and the result of free discussion prevail. Hence the serious responsibility which rested in very different days on the shoulders of a Papineau, a Mercier or a Bourassa. At the beginning of the War, in the strenuous months following it, and during the succeeding years, in Cabinet council, in Party caucus, on the street or in public meetings throughout the Dominion, the attitude of the French Canadian was widely discussed. At first it was done privately, by 1916 it had become a public and general discussion. On the surface and to the man who did not think or want to think seriously there was much cause for dissatisfaction; to the impartial student of conditions there was obvious excuse for debating the question but no reason for the wholesale condemnation sometimes awarded to Quebec. As a matter of fact the order of natural interest felt by Canadians in the War was (1) British subjects resident here but born in the United Kingdom, (2) those born in Canada of British parents or ancestry, (3) those born in Canada of French ancestry. In this order they enlisted and would be expected to enlist.

In some ways and for a time the French Canadian did well and the troops he sent abroad in the first months of the War were as numerous as the whole of Canada's contribution to the South African War. His share of the total

native-born enlistment by the close of 1916 was variously estimated and, perhaps, totalled 12,000 men; the proportion in view of many considerations was not a bad one. As a matter of fact F. M. Gaudet, L. H. Archambault, E. T. Paquet, Adolphe Dansereau, Herculé Barré, Henri Desrosiers, Olivar Asselin, had no greater difficulties in raising Battalions of French Canadians during 1916 than had their colleagues in English-speaking Canada during 1917. The worst that could be said of the individual *habitant* up to this time was that he remained passive or indifferent; the same could be said, then and afterwards, of many a young man in other parts of Canada, of some farmers in Ontario and on the Atlantic coast. It should more often have been remembered that the French Canadian was isolated by his faith and language from the rest of Canada; that he was separated by various traditions and interpretations of history from the ideals of the English Canadian; that he was severed by a gulf from the anti-Church, republican, socialistic France of 1914, no matter how devoted he might be to the French language and his records of French heroism; that he did not understand, and few of his leaders had faithfully interpreted to him, the Empire ideals of other Provinces; that, practically, he knew no country but Canada as embodied in his native Province and often was frankly indifferent to the fate of other nations or indeed Provinces.

His isolation had made it easier for men of facile tongue and narrow view to influence him than perhaps was the case elsewhere in Canada; his patriotism naturally did not have the breadth which, in some English Canadians, became attenuated into cosmopolitanism, nor could he possess the Anglo-Saxon warmth of sentiment which often developed into Imperialism. His love was of the soil and the horizon of his hope was bounded by the coasts and borders of Canada. In a vague and general way he believed in British connection and respected the British Empire and was loyal to its liberties; but a gigantic, world-wide struggle for

civilization and freedom did not touch his sense of duty, stir his pulses or spur him to great practical effort. The same thing might be said, and with less reason, of many an English-speaking Canadian, as the recruiting officers soon found out. Hence the importance of the Bi-lingual issue which in 1914–17 had a place in Ontario and Manitoba, in Saskatchewan and Alberta; hence the influence of Quebec Nationalism, which turned its guns upon Ontario, in particular, and used an alleged policy of that Province, in an Educational issue, to dampen French patriotism and hamper Quebec recruiting. Nationalism, in itself, was a mere name for the fundamental opposition of certain elements in Quebec to any extension of Canadian activities and political action beyond the borders of Canada and of support for any possible extension of French Canadian influence within Canada itself. These concurrent feelings could be moderate or they could be extreme; they might be applied to Canada's participation in the South African War, to the Naval policy of either party, to any Imperialistic development, or to fighting for the Empire in Flanders. They were embodied in an extreme form at this stage by Henri Bourassa and Armand Lavergne; they were not held in any party sense or limited to party feeling; they were directed during these years mainly in attacking the Educational policy of the Ontario Government as to the teaching of French within that Province: As with so many other problems of Quebec the issue was unavoidedly mixed up with the interests of the Church which had so long safeguarded the moral and religious life of the Province.

The feeling of the French Canadian as to Education in Ontario was comprehensible, even if regrettable, because it was a part and parcel of his sentiment as to local school conditions. Its expression was, of course, not logical because if Quebec could interfere in the management of minority educational interests in Ontario, the latter Province and other Provinces could interfere as to minority

rights or alleged rights in Quebec — and the situation might become very unpleasant. Things were so different in Quebec from what they were elsewhere in Canada that it had always been difficult to develop a mutual understanding on points of religion or education and, as a result of feelings aroused by Nationalists playing upon the Bi-lingual chords of discord, even the War did not have the unifying effects which it otherwise would have had. To comprehend the situation clearly it has to be remembered that Roman Catholic Church control of the system of education in Quebec was, at the outbreak of the War and with the exception of the Protestant separate schools, close and complete. The Catholic Committee of Public Instruction included the Bishops and Archbishops of Quebec with a selected number of representative Catholic laymen; its methods of administration, its regulations, courses of study, examinations, business management, and construction of schools, etc., were almost identical with those of the Protestant Committee. But a great distinction existed when religion entered into the situation. The Catholic schools were a part of the parish organizations — each of the latter being, as a rule, incorporated as a municipality and also as a school district. The curé, or priest administering a Catholic church, was given the exclusive right in selecting books, dealing with religion and morals, for the use of pupils. At the Catholic Normal Schools one of the leading subjects was religious instruction and, in the diplomas awarded, sacred history was included. The teaching orders of Catholic women were freely utilized in all the schools and to the fact of their drawing little or no remuneration was due the very small average salaries paid to teachers in Quebec.

The education of girls was and is, in all countries, one of the most vital of problems and it was claimed at this time, with apparently excellent reasons, that their instruction at the hands of thousands of devout and devoted women in French Canada constituted one of the best and most bene-

ficial elements in the Catholic system. The Nuns instructed their pupils in not only the ordinary courses of study but in domestic work, knitting, sewing and embroidery and, it was claimed, refined their manners while cultivating amongst them good morals and Christian knowledge. It is probable that at least one-half of the girls in the Catholic schools of Quebec in these years received a thorough training in these important subjects. The number of female religious teachers in 1911 was 3,194 in the model schools and academies, while the Nuns teaching in elementary schools totalled 542. Under such conditions it went without saying that the history, polity and character of the Church were also taught and taught well. Much the same comment as above might be made upon the male religious orders and their instruction of boys. The Christian Brothers, and others, were placed in charge of important commercial colleges, as well as schools, with excellent results. There were 2,300 male religious teachers in the educational institutions of the Provinces and 4,500 female religious teachers or a total of over 6,800 male and female teachers (1914) out of 16,000 teachers instructing 400,000 Catholic pupils and 59,000 Protestants. To the cost of all the schools the municipalities contributed over $7,750,000 and the Provincial Government $1,780,000 — the great bulk of this money coming, of course, from Catholic parishes and going into Catholic schools. There were difficulties in the evolution of the system and some of the faults were obvious. School commissioners who could not read or write were occasionally found, though in any case they were usually good managers in financial matters; on the other hand, lack of education could be found on school boards in many a rural municipality outside of Quebec. Some of the time devoted to religious exercises and instruction in the primary schools was necessarily taken from secular subjects; on the other hand, convents and religious schools afforded an excellent education for many children at infi-

nitely smaller cost than it could be obtained in any other province or state of America.

The great trouble was, of course, economic — the large majority of children, especially boys, leaving school at too early an age. What they had learned they were apt to forget — though this was a condition not confined to French Canadians. The atmosphere around the French *habitant* or artisan was not conducive to thought or education. He was too comfortable, too contented, too happy, if you like, to worry over newspapers and books and the life of other people and societies and nations in which he could never live or share. Even a girl brought up in the convent appeared to be glad, after a few years of domestic life, to hand over pen and ink and school memories to a daughter who was, perhaps, going through the same routine of education that she had left forever. A keen observer estimated that in one French parish, which he knew minutely, there had averaged in recent years one daily paper to eleven families and a weekly to about every fifteen families. Books were still more rare and very limited in scope and character — especially in the rural parts of Quebec. Hence a natural and inevitable ignorance as to war issues, world problems, Empire conditions, Canadian sentiment.

Such were the general conditions of education in French Canada in 1914–18. In summarized form it may be said that the overwhelming French and Catholic population and the limited numbers of English and Protestant people had each the same general system and forms of instruction, with separate control in respect to text-books and religious teaching. While, however, the Protestant element devoted itself with restricted means and success — outside of McGill University — to a secular education of the type known in the ordinary public schools of Ontario, the Catholic element devoted all the resources and energies and skilled practice of a great Church organization to the thorough grounding of the children, the youth, and the young men or women

of French Canada, in religion as understood from a Roman Catholic standpoint. With that point of view and general policy there was necessarily bound up the racial situation and the preservation of the French language.

There was apparently no idea of compromise in this respect — the Church and the language must stand together. It did not, of course, follow that the Church or its leaders believed that either, necessarily, would fall if they stood apart; it simply meant that many elements of strength lay in their unity and certain obvious elements of danger in their severance. At the French Language Congress of 1912 the Church and the race combined to uphold this principle and policy. There were present from Canada and the United States representatives of three million French Canadians who also were Catholics, while Archbishops and Bishops were honorary presidents and much applauded speakers. Language was described, in mottoes, as the soul of a people and as a sacred privilege, while Archbishop Langevin of Winnipeg declared that: "If we have remained French it is because we have remained Catholic. It is by guarding our religion that we guard our race." M. Etienne Lamy, the distinguished French author and visitor, described Canada on this occasion as "the land of constancy that has strengthened the wisdom of its laws and its customs on the Catholic faith"; Abbé Groulx, of Valleyfield College, urged Canadians "to keep their distinctive spirit, with the virtues of their faith and the value of their tongue." Sir Joseph Dubuc, from Manitoba, declared that "the French language is, with the Catholic religion and the love of our country, the most sacred heritage that we have received." Hence the natural interest felt by the French Canadians of Quebec in the language question as it developed in Ontario; hence also a basis for the extreme and unfortunate spirit developed in certain quarters by the Bourassa-Lavergne agitation.

The basic problem was an obvious one. So long as the Church and the State were one in faith and language other than English, just so long, it was believed, would they be apart from the temptations of a wide liberty which often degenerated throughout the continent and the world into unrestrained license; apart, also, from the looseness of modern literature, of the Higher Criticism, and of the infinite variations in modern religious thought outside of their Church. The literature of the French Canadian was in French, his teachers and preachers used French, his laws in civil and religious matters were from the French code of two centuries before, his habits and customs were French of an old-time period, his traditions, songs, history, and patriotism were all wrapped up in the language of his fathers — which his children learned to lisp at their mother's knee. It all served and still serves to differentiate him from the vast, overwhelming Anglo-Saxon life of the continent, to keep him in closer touch with his Church, to make him more submissive to its teachings and, in this age of a democracy which is almost uncontrollable, in even matters of religion and social relationship, to keep him more easily amenable to the moral code and moral precepts. At the same time the Church kept him apart from modern France as representing some, at least, of the things which it opposed in English life and thought.

Was this situation a desirable one or was it not? Can a writer or observer deal with such a problem outside of and apart from religious feelings or racial prejudices? It seems clear that the question of this French-speaking community cannot be considered apart from religion or from the Church which holds almost an entire people at its altars. The first thought in this respect that occurs to one is the vital and root problem of whether some particular religious faith, accepted by a whole people and followed with such measure of devotion as human frailty will permit, is not better than a condition in which the same people, after

having that particular religion undermined, or shaken at its base, turns in part to other churches or denominations, in part to practical infidelity, in still larger part, perhaps, to general indifference regarding all religion. Back of this thought is, of course, the fundamental conception of religion to which all Christendom adheres in theory — that religion is the most important thing in life and should control or influence all its interests. The Roman Catholic Church claims to carry out this theory in practice; all the varied divisions of Protestantism accept it, but differ in their application of the theory, while most of them exclude government and education from its sphere.

French Canada was at this time still Catholic in its almost universal acceptance of that Church — even the Irish part of the small English minority adhering largely to the one faith. The obvious and natural intention of Catholicism was to retain that allegiance, to strengthen the weak links in the chain of loyalty, to put religious backbone into those who might otherwise be feeble in their faith, to keep a strong hand upon both education and the press, and to make the former the key-note to the religion of the people. At a French Congress in Three Rivers during 1913 George H. Baril, of Laval University, Montreal, defined the leading principles of the Congress as follows: "First and foremost is absolute and unquestioning submission to the Church and to its right of control in moral and religious education; then there is the assertion of the parents' duty to watch over the child, and lastly there is the exclusion of Governments from the sphere of education." "The Church," he added, "has the sacred right to direct the education of its youth and to see that none of the books of instruction are allowed to contain anything in the least injurious to the doctrines of the Catholic Church; it is the business of the State to give protection and financial assistance but not to take charge of National education."

Such a view was, of course, in absolute antagonism to the average Protestant view of English-speaking people in Canada as a whole, in the Province of Ontario in particular, or in the United States. Yet it really appears to have been the logical and natural one, from the Roman Catholic Church's standpoint, if it desired to hold the French Canadians in Quebec, or elsewhere, as a unit in faith and as a great force within one organization. Of course, this carried with it a high responsibility in the practical exclusion from French Canada of all knowledge as to the high principles, and lofty thoughts, and splendid ideals, which have distinguished so many branches of the Protestant faith in so many countries and centuries of the world's history. Meanwhile the difficulties of modern life were growing apace but even if the child of French Canada was not quite as much alive and alert in certain lines of education and initiative as his Ontario compatriot and his American competitor, it was, after all, a question of comparative values. Ability to hold his own with others in the material development and labours of after life was the excellent aim placed before the public school child in English Canada with, however, manners, morals and religion as conditions left to the home and the churches. The obvious weakness of this system was that prayer and religion were being and are more and more eliminated from the home by stress of life and work while the churches and Sunday Schools are in touch with only a portion of the people or their children. On the other hand, ability to meet what are believed by the average Catholic to be the essentials of life in this world and the next — obedience to the Church, religious observance and duties, morals and manners — were the first condition of the Roman Catholic schools of French Canada, with business affairs, and capacity, and material interests, holding a secondary place.

The two systems were fundamentally antagonistic and the results divergent. The Catholic believed that a man

should be made a complete Christian along his lines of faith and that he would then be the best citizen; the Protestant, as a rule, was willing to construct the citizen first and develop the Christian afterwards or else to try and evolve the two lines of thought together. Which of these systems was or is the best will and must be a matter of opinion dependent largely upon whether religion or practical utility is regarded as the first essential. The pity of it, to sympathetic observers in the case of Quebec, would seem to lie in the apparent difficulty of finding some successful compromise between the two. Yet, even in this question of practical utility, there were two considerations. The life and surroundings of the rural French Canadian were so totally different from those of other Canadians, or of Americans, as to at once bring up the question of whether a change was desirable. There is usually but one answer to that question, and it an affirmative, from those who are not French Canadians; from those who are of that race, taken as a whole, the answer is diametrically opposite. Is the final test of life, happiness and contentment, or is it ambition, restless change, and money? Here again is a fundamental divergence and the French Canadians may be taken, with inevitable exceptions, to embody the one view while the American people, with also many and important exceptions, and a large class of Canadians, may be taken to represent the other view.

It must not be understood, however, that opinion in Quebec is, or ever has been, unanimous on these points. The majority has been very large in favour of present educational conditions, but there was also a small and aggressive minority. Of late years it has been led by Godéfroi Langlois, M.L.A., of Montreal, and his paper *Le Pays*. He wanted a Department of Public Instruction similar to that of Ontario and other provinces which should, presumably — though he did not quite say so — take the control of education from the Hierarchy and give it to the politicians; he

demanded free and compulsory education and uniformity in school books. Under such a system it was obvious that the parish curé could not dictate the books on religion and morals to his school; nor could special time be taken from secular studies to prepare a child for its first Communion; nor would the Church and its great educational institutions hold the same predominating place in the Province.

How far in such a case the change of masters, the transfer of the schools from the Church to the Legislature, would equalize conditions as between the Quebec and the Ontario boy, for instance, would then become a matter of race, and here, again, the divergence, in this case of type, was very great. As to outside criticisms and comparisons, Sir Lomer Gouin expressed his point of view in the Legislature very concisely when he stated that in 1911 Quebec had 385,000 children inscribed in the schools, or 19 per cent of the population; and Ontario 459,000, or 18 per cent; and that the average school attendance in Quebec was 77 per cent, Ontario 69 per cent, New Brunswick 69 per cent, and Nova Scotia 64 per cent. The obvious inference was that M. Langlois' proposals would not better matters, as the Provinces which had long ago adopted the system suggested really had a smaller average attendance at school than Quebec itself. The Church's reply to M. Langlois was to interdict his paper.

This brief picture of conditions and feelings in Quebec is essential to a full comprehension of the ease with which a Bi-lingual or anti-naval, or anti-conscription agitation had been or might be developed in that Province by unscrupulous agitators. The Ontario side of the School question and the right to control its own educational system; the necessity in a Province where business conditions and ability to speak English were essential to give the clearest and most effective instruction in that language to all pupils; the liberty accorded in Ontario to Roman Catholic Separate Schools and their complete self-government from a religious

point of view; these things were not properly laid before the people of Quebec. So with the splendid history of Great Britain, the rise and progress of its Empire and the world's liberties were also largely omitted from the higher school courses and Classical Colleges where they might well have had a place. A claim, therefore, that the French language must have, and was entitled to have, equality in Ontario with English was a splendid political platform to present in Quebec and to impress upon the pioneer race of Canadian history; the necessity of English being the dominant language in an English Province, as French was in the French Province, served as an equally strong call to an Ontario people who knew that English was the language of the Motherland, of the continent on which they lived, of commerce, business and financial success. When Parliament discussed the subject in 1916 and Sir Wilfred Laurier stood by his compatriots and the Legislature of Quebec in asking Ontario to moderate its educational policy, he embodied one of two conflicting schools of thought and stood upon a platform which only part of the people of Canada could appreciate or fully understand, and the roots of which were complicated and tangled up in a Nationalist underbrush of dangerous statement and unfair deduction.

Under Mr. Bourassa's manipulation the question gradually affected the whole war-situation in Quebec, yet the outlook of sincere Bi-lingualist leaders, such as Senator N. A. Belcourt of Ottawa, could be based upon conditions given above, and be entirely honest and patriotic, even if unacceptable to an English majority in Canada. The Government and people of Ontario might be absolutely right and justified in making sure of English training for every pupil in its schools while at the same time both Government and people of Quebec were justified in hoping and even urging an adequate instruction for French Canadians in their own beautiful mother tongue. The point of essential diver-

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canada's Overseas' War Minister (Sir A. E. Kemp) at the Front

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadian Journalists Visit France. Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig Receiving Them

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canadian Cavalry Looking at the List of Electoral Districts in Canada Before Entering the Hut to Vote in the War Elections of 1918

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Canada's Olympiad, July 1st, 1918, at Tinques (on the St. Pol Arras Road)

gence was in method and manner of agitation; in disloyal Nationalist discussion of the issue calculated so as to estrange the Provinces and hamper war-action; in the failure to propose, discuss or accept moderate counsels. At the close of 1916 a British Privy Council decision cleared the air and endorsed the constitutional legality of the Ontario Government's complete control over Education while rejecting a certain local application of its policy in Ottawa which the Bi-lingual advocates especially opposed; in October, 1918, a Pastoral from the Pope, following one in 1916, urged moderation and toleration in word and policy.

As to the War, directly and officially, the Church in Quebec expressed herself clearly and promptly in the Pastoral letter of the Hierarchy issued late in 1914 which declared that: "England is engaged in this war, and who does not see that the destiny of every part of the Empire is bound up with the fate of her armies? She counts very rightly on our co-operation and this co-operation, we are happy to say, is being generously offered to her both in men and in money. It will be the honour and glory of Canada, which is so intimately united with two of the leading belligerent Powers, to have done her share, by fervent supplications for the restoration of peace in the world, and by generous contributions, to have assisted in allaying the evils which afflict mankind." On September 8, 1914, *L'Action Catholique* of Quebec, supposed to be the organ of the Cardinal-Archbishop, published an article declaring that "the Catholic clergy of the country, as well as the clergy of the city, should adopt not the principles of this or that politician regarding the War, but those which are taught to us by the Pope and the Bishops." The above Pastoral was quoted and then the journal proceeded as follows: "In the grave circumstances in which we are, the rural clergy, as well as all the clergy in general, are aware that they would doubly fail in their duty if they furnish voluntarily the

least pretext to those who might call into question their loyalty and attachment to the cause of the Mother Country." This was written in reference to the rumours that Parish curés in rural districts were discouraging recruiting. Succeeding editorials took the same line and, on October 8, the following direct statement as to Nationalism was made:

> To prevent the circulation of a thesis which we consider false, in itself and dangerous in its consequences — the thesis that Canada has no moral or constitutional obligation, or pressing interest in the War, that we have no other obligations to England than we have to Belgium or France — we have had to teach what we believe to be in conformity with natural and Christian duty. The thesis which we defend may be thus expressed: As part of the British Empire, it is our moral duty to aid our legitimate Sovereign and our metropolitan centre in this War, because they are in danger. This moral obligation to aid England in just measure is united with the obligation to defend Canadian interests which are involved in this conflict. The legitimate Government of Canada decided that our aid to England should consist of men and money, and no other authority in Canada is competent to judge with full knowledge. Its decision is not, in any sense, a violation of our natural or constitutional rights.

During 1915 and 1916 the Bishops and Archbishops did not consider it their duty to frequently urge recruiting; they did not, on the other hand, fail to declare the righteousness of the British cause. As Archbishop Bruchési put it at a Laval University function in Montreal on December 8, 1915: "I here honour the Laval University Military Hospital. The University has understood Canada's duty in the terrible conflict that is now going on and has performed an act of generous patriotism. Her sons are organizing for the struggle. Thus they are contributing to end the lying legend that French Canadians and Catholics have no part and are taking no part in the great fight that is being

waged for the defense of law, civilization and humanity. Thank God, our people have understood their duty. They have given their gold and their sons. They have not drawn back at the thought of sacrifices." The loyal British attitude of His Grace of Montreal had often been expressed; his alleged official organ — *La Semaine Religieuse* — was not behind *L'Action Catholique* at this time in urging the cause of the Empire.

Meantime, however, the sentimental and patriotic war-influences brought to play upon the French Canadian had been slight in variety and not very effective in force while the Bi-lingual agitation was so developed as to check such sentimental activity as existed. It was not until the middle of 1915 that members of the Dominion Government undertook a campaign of education and encouragement. Then Messrs. T. Chase Casgrain, Pierre E. Blondin and the new Minister, E. L. Paténaude, made a series of strong speeches urging enlistment, painting the duties of the hour in vigorous terms, declaring the obligations of the French Canadian to the flag and the Empire. During 1916 similar speeches were made by these Ministers from time to time but even then there was no great recruiting effort, no such organization of the Province as there would have been in a general election, for instance, no outstanding figure to persistently press the subject upon the attention of the French Canadian and appeal to that instinct of hero worship, that warmth of imagination, that principle of loyalty to a person, be he Pope or King or Party leader, which was embedded in the mind of the French Canadian as it had been in the days of Louis XIV — a period and a nation which the French Canadian represented far more truly at this time than he did the France of his own day. Sir Wilfrid Laurier could have done this but years and political views seemed to make it impossible. Mr. Blondin in the one party, Mr. Lemieux in the other, did appeal, and earnestly, to the patriotism of the people but the appeal was a general one

and not sufficient to sweep aside the selfish or personal, traditional or prejudiced, feelings of the moment — cultivated or poisoned as they were by Mr. Bourassa and the Nationalists. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at the inception of the War, had given the Government his hearty support, he opposed its administration in details, but on the general principle of efficient, effective, large-handed conduct of the War, in close co-operation with the British authorities, he was for a time at one with Sir Robert Borden. At St. Lin, Quebec, on August 7, 1915, and at Sherbrooke on the 12th, he made speeches which would, if continued and properly supported, have set the susceptible French mind on fire with enthusiasm. He concluded the latter address as follows:

> I am an old man but rather than in this War see Belgium, France and England dismembered and Germany triumph, I pray that God will not let me see that day. But it is not my death that I am looking for. I am thankful to God that He has given me enough strength yet in my old age to be able to fight this battle. What is the duty of our young men? If I were a young man and I had the health which I have to-day and which I did not have when I was young, I would not hesitate to take the musket, and to fight for freedom, as so many of our fellow-countrymen are doing. I cannot do that now. But there is one thing I can do, I can use my voice, such as it is, in the great cause in which we all have such a supreme interest. This is the message that I bring to you upon this occasion. The peril is at present great. We must not rest under the misapprehension of false security. If we want to win, we must be worthy of freedom, we have to be prepared to fight for freedom.

But neither party really organized the Province and sporadic attempts at promoting war patriotism only served to accentuate the slow but sure action of a Nationalist movement which might, in 1914–16, have been headed off or effectively nullified. In 1915 it was hardly a movement; it was a section of opinion led, created, manipulated, by

Messrs. Bourassa and Lavergne; in 1916 it developed bitterness and strength in its opposition to recruiting and towards 1917 it became a very definite movement against conscription or any aid to Britain or the Empire. *Le Devoir,* the evening paper of Montreal, edited by Henri Bourassa, and *Le Nationaliste,* its weekly edition, were the organs of a school of thought represented in these years by the following extract from a speech by Mr. Bourassa at Montreal on January 14, 1915: "Let England take care of herself, as she is able to. Why should Canada send her young men to fight the battles of an Empire when she has no voice in the Government of that Empire? It would be well for the French Canadian race to keep before their minds the aim of maintaining a free and peaceful land for their own enjoyment, able to repel attacks from without, but keeping clear of wars that are not the wars of the Canadians." At first, in the later months of 1914 Mr. Bourassa for some unknown reason, had been neutral in war matters: he now made up for this temporary condition by a steadily-growing viciousness of view and expression as to everything British and loyally Canadian. Day after day *Le Devoir* continued its criticism of everything British, of all war co-operation, of everything touching Empire action.

Long lists of alleged historic sins by England were published; the wickedness of all war and the interesting claim that this particular one was caused by yellow newspapers, subsidized by a "Dreadnought Trust," were elaborated; the desirability of Canadians staying at home and growing wheat was urged, or, as was actually suggested in a pamphlet by Mr. Bourassa called *"The Duty of Canada,"* the arranging for an increased production of vegetables, fruits and poultry; the alleged establishment in Ontario's educational system of a "Prussian tyranny abhorrent to everything Canadian" was continuously dealt with; the allegation that Italy entered the War for purely selfish motives

and that Japan would, after the War, demand and receive special privileges in British Columbia, were typical claims; Conscription was continually denounced in early years as though it were being officially arranged for while recruiting was strongly deprecated; a signed article on the School question, on July 7, 1915, dealt with "Russian Boches and Ontario Boches," and compared them both to infernal spirits; the imperative need was constantly urged of protecting an autonomy which it was hard to differentiate from absolute separation — from Ontario, or Canada, or the Empire as the case might be. In an issue of October 19, 1915, for instance, *Le Devoir* fiercely attacked Great Britain and accused its people of every form of degeneration and cowardice. Every great period of its history was twisted so that the worst enemy of England could hardly have recognized it in this country of pagan worshippers of gold and mediocre armies only fit to conquer half-civilized peoples!

At the close of this year and throughout 1916 the guns of Nationalism were also directed strongly against Ontario and the educational policy outlined in its famous Regulation 17 which declared that: "Where necessary in the case of French-speaking pupils, French may be used as the language of instruction and communication; but such use of French shall not be continued beyond Form 1, excepting that, on the approval of the Chief Inspector, it may also be used as the language of instruction and communication in the case of pupils beyond Form 1 who are unable to speak and understand the English language." No language was sufficiently strong for Mr. Bourassa or his chief lieutenant, Armand Lavergne, to use in attacking this Ontario regulation. On December 10, 1915, the former told a Montreal audience that "there are 200,000 French Canadians to-day living under worse oppression in Ontario than the people of Alsace-Lorraine under the iron heel of Prussia . . . There is no principle whereby Canada, Australia and other parts of the Empire should be held actively to partici-

pate in the Empire's wars . . . We — the French Canadians — have not to keep together with our blood the Empire which Britain has not the force or ability to keep herself." Mr. Lavergne, who was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Militia, went further and declared on November 3, in refusing the Minister of Militia's invitation to help in raising a Regiment, that "it is not for us to defend England; it is for England to defend us!"

The position and influence of Mr. Bourassa in Quebec could be, and sometimes was, over-estimated in these years; it also was frequently under-estimated. Its importance did not lie in Parliamentary representation, though a number of Conservative members of the Commons had been elected as Nationalists in 1911; nor in Provincial Legislative representation, because there was none. It lay in the persistent and clever advocacy of a cause — the non-participation of Canada in Imperial wars or Empire government or Imperial responsibility; in steady and consistent presentment of French Canadians as the only true Canadians and as the continuous victime of either British rapacity, or Ontario persecution, or Manitoba injustice, or Orange wickedness; in bitter and unscrupulous denunciation of Great Britain and the British people and soldiers in the War with the reiteration of every possible misconception as to Allied policy and action. The mouthpiece of Mr. Bourassa in this connection — as quoted above — was not a great or even brilliant journal, but it was a clever one, it was influential in voicing opinions which some local politicians held but dared not, or could not, put so clearly, it reached an audience not so much large as it was select and influential — political leaders or would-be politicians, rising young lawyers and speakers, priests in the cities and curés in the parishes, students of Laval and professors in the Colleges.

As the year 1917 came and went, Mr. Bourassa's utterances in *Le Devoir* became very bold — with a fundamental

explanation, probably, in his statement to the Manchester *Guardian* of March 20: "As to us, Nationalists, our choice has been made many years ago. The choice being put to us, we vote for Independence. It is, to our mind, the simplest solution of the national problem, the most consonant with British and Canadian traditions, the necessary goal of self-government." In a Montreal speech on May 30, Mr. Bourassa urged the union of French Canadians in Manitoba, Ontario, Acadia (Nova Scotia) and New England: "Let us guard our blood and labour at a price, if necessary." A series of personal editorials followed and in the fourth one (May 31) he said: "Canada has furnished all the man-power she can for this war without grave danger to her own existence and that of her Allies. . . . What England needs is not soldiers, but bread, meat and potatoes." On June 1 he declared that there was in Canada "a line of deep cleavage" between the races; that Imperial ideas had caused this through abandonment of an allegd original plan for Canada to stand alone without Empire responsibilities. On June 5 he commented upon Conscription in Canada as following action in the United States and as intended, chiefly, to catch escaping slackers for the benefit of that country: "So it is not to save democracy and a superior civilization that Canada is threatened by the most hateful and bloodiest of tolls! It is not to help France and England, it is not even to support its own army, it is simply to do police work for the United States Government!" Disguised threats followed, on the 6th, with various references which were malignant in the extreme.

These quotations are given here not because they embodied French Canadian opinion as a whole, but because many in Ontario and elsewhere believed they did; not because they proved the frequent statement that Quebec was evading its duty, but because they furnished a reason why some, at least, of the people there did not see any duty to perform; not because such utterances were reflections upon

the French Canadian people, but because they explained some of the misunderstandings existent in Ontario, just as the extreme opinions of the *Orange Sentinel* were often thought in Quebec to stand as the popular view of a whole Province. Out of this situation, however, certain things developed as they were bound to do. Politics came to the front and still further muddled the war issue; they, indeed, constituted a vital element of the war problem in Quebec — more so than was generally supposed elsewhere. The *habitant,* or small farmer, or the average artisan, did not suspect that because he possessed the excitable French nature and was susceptible to racial interests and appeals; because he was naturally jealous of his traditions and cherished privileges; because he was obviously suspicious of pressure, or supposed pressure, from the overwhelming mass of English Canadians, British Empire peoples or Anglo-Saxon populations around him; that, therefore, he was an object of special consideration to politicians. He did not inherit his politics as did so many people in Ontario and elsewhere; but he did inherit the strong desire for a French Quebec and a most natural liking for the extension of French Canadian ideals and language through the medium of speech, of school, and of migration.

During late years Sir Wilfrid Laurier had become the central figure in his political affections. It was no longer a case of party politics in this latter connection, as in the days of Laurier and Chapleau or Dorion and Cartier; it was devotion to a Chief who embodied the essence of Quebec thought. At heart Quebec was and is moderate, though it can be swept by a storm of resentment or prejudice a little more easily than the other Provinces because of its racial isolation; to defeat a leader who retained support because of moderation it was inevitable that extremes such as Nationalism should, from time to time, come upon the scene and be used by the politicians. Hence the use of Mercier and his followers by Laurier in his younger days

against Sir John Macdonald; hence the use by Conservatives of Bourassa and his Nationalists against Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the latter's days of power; hence, once more, the evolution of Nationalism as a factor against War-action, Conscription, the Borden Government of 1911 and the Union Government of 1917. Hence the fact that although a Bye-election such as that of Dorchester could be carried in 1917 by a Conservative Minister yet at this very time the feeling of the Province was essentially a Laurier sentiment ready to swing into enthusiastic support of its leader after the seed of anti-Conscription had been properly planted and nursed by Nationalism and the spirit of antagonism to that policy in principle and practice, accepted by Sir Wilfrid.

Hence the bitterness of sentiment expressed in the Commons during the Conscription debates by French Canadians such as Joseph Demers, Jacques Bureau, H. Boulay, P. A. Seguin, J. A. C. Ethier, H. Achim, Roch Lanctot, D. A. Lafortune, M. Martin, J. E. Marcile and others. Racial sentiment had become merged in one party, devotion to race was embodied in its leader. So it was that Lieut-Col. P. E. Blondin in leaving the Government to promote recruiting found himself too late and discovered that the public mind had been trained in the other direction by the Nationalist leaders and press. So it was that in the later years of the War public conviction was solidified in a belief that race and religion were threatened at home in Ontario much more than Canadian liberty was menaced in Europe. Priests, it was true, sat upon the Blondin platform but curés, day in and day out, had already given their personal influence in many rural parishes against any war-aid by French Canadian youths to or upon the soil of Godless France. Hence the sudden and passionate outbursts of excitable youths in Montreal and Quebec — the ebullitions of a Marsil or a Paguin, a Lamarche or a Ricard, a Villeneuve, Thibault, Maille, Bernier or Lafortune, a Mongeau or Lalumiére. The violent speeches of these young men on city

platforms or street corners did not represent Quebec opinion but they did indicate the ripe fruition of Bourassa utterances and the steady dripping of poisoned water upon a stone of race tradition and affection.

No doubt the whole Nationalist, anti-recruiting, anti-Conscription, anti-British movement could have been checked by the Church if taken in time. But it was not primarily the business of the Church to interfere, though Archbishop Bruchési and one or two Bishops did support recruiting upon occasion; her attitude was clearly defined at the beginning of the War and should have been supplemented by active Government support, both Federal and Provincial; the chief advocate of Nationalism was a devout adherent of the Church and did not in the first year take any openly anti-war attitude; then the cleverly-used language issue complicated matters and after that party politics supervened. The whole situation was a difficult one and while many Canadians would have liked to see the Church in Quebec take a more active part in war politics, yet it would hardly be just to criticize her for not doing so. As a matter of fact the attitude of the Hierarchy was one of dignified loyalty — neither aggressive nor arrogant, nor weak. Conscription was opposed by Cardinal Bégin and the Church leaders so long as it was an issue in Parliament and before the people; moderation, however, was urged and when it became law, active opposition ceased. So far as public rights were concerned this attitude was as easily justified as was the official and political advocacy of Prohibition by the Methodist Church in Canada generally. As the Cardinal put it on July 28, 1917, in *L'Action Catholique,* so the Church in Quebec felt regarding the 600 clergymen who, it was claimed, would be taken from the Colleges with at least 150 of them lost to the priesthood of the Church:

> This Conscription law is a menace which causes the Canadian clergy the worst apprehensions. This military service, as it is proposed, or at least

> as we are enabled to judge from the speeches and articles its discussion has provoked, is not only a serious blow to the rights of the Church of Christ, independent in its domain, and whose laws and practice exempt the clergy and that class of society which that name designates from the service of arms, but also it constitutes a fatal obstacle to the recruiting ministers of God, shepherds of souls, as well as to that of the staff of clerical teachers, and through this very fact it creates in our society an evil much worse than that which it is alleged to attempt to remedy.

What the Church did do was to give full support to Patriotic Funds and the sale of Victory Bonds; to urge observance of law in days of riot and trouble; to stand for acceptance of Conscription when once approved by the people through Parliament and enforced by the Government of the land. It is true that some newspapers with Church affiliations — though not official ones — were violent in their language and that *La Croix* threatened to smash Confederation, *L'Ideal Catholique* advocated a French Canadian republic and *Le Devoir* shouted "down with England" while posing as a specially-loyal servant of the Church. But with the exception of the last, these papers had little influence, although widely and unjustly quoted throughout Canada as representing Quebec opinion, while some at, least, of their views were officially repudiated. Quick advantage also was taken by all anti-war or Nationalist elements in the Province and by anti-Quebec influences outside the Province of any loop-hole given by Church dignitaries and such incidents as the alleged retirement of L'Abbé D'Amours from the editorship of *L'Action Catholique* because of his loyal attitude and the expressed approval by Archbishop Bruchési, Cardinal Bégin, and other Bishops, of *Le Pape Arbitre de la Paix,* a book by Mr. Bourassa urging that the Pope be appointed the World's Peace Arbitrator, were made much of. It was natural for the Church to approve this latter view: it was

unfortunate that in this particular volume the writer should describe the Allies as "fighting only for domination of the world" and as "the principal authors of that abominable butchery" with other typical expressions of opinion.

In his letter, however, the Archbishop of Montreal was careful to limit his approval to what was written about the Pope and, after what seems to have been the unauthorized publication of the letter, *Le Semaine Religieuse,* the supposed organ of His Grace, offered its complete fyle of *Le Devoir* for sale. Some of these were small matters, and amongst the more significant things was such an appeal as that issued by Archbishop Bruchési on March 28, 1918, for prayer in his churches as follows: "The time has now come to make a final assault on the Divine mercy by our prayers and our acts of penance, in order to obtain a victory for the Allies, and for the peace of the world." A similar point was the letter of Bishop Émard of Valleyfield (May 7) to the young soldiers of his Diocese: "Tell yourselves that, like the Maccabees of old, the cause for which you fight is just, noble and saintly, and then, with the conviction that springs from this knowledge, will come the ardour and conviction of a valiant defender of your country."

Meantime while politics had hampered the Church it had also developed within Nationalism, and was clearly shown in the riotous speeches of 1917 and early in 1918, in the popular antagonism to Borden and the Union party, in the support given to Laurier and the fight against Conscription. That politics had something to do with the Bi-lingual agitation, the Nationalist attitude, and Conscription matters, seems clear from the fact that after the Elections of 1917 much of the bitterness went out of public utterances and that the result in that contest of 62 Laurier members returned, to three Unionists, on a popular vote of 243,000 against 76,000, represented a large French Canadian major-

ity.* At the same time it became clear that the Quebec riots were mainly a sporadic development of preceding teachings, while the official action of the Church, as represented by the Pope, in the Bi-lingual affair, further and greatly cleared the air. No party or organization wished to antagonize this potent factor in Quebec conditions. Later on, as the chief political leader of Quebec outside of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Provincial Premier, Sir Lomer Gouin, spoke as follows on December 2, 1918:

> Now that Germany has been forced to renounce her foolish dream of the military, economic, and intellectual domination of the world, there is probably not a single German who does not call down on the head of England all the maledictions of the skies, but on the other hand there is not a single Ally who will not bless England with all her heart. There is not a single British subject, no matter where he may be, who does not feel proud of the fact that he is a Briton, and proud of the glorious part that the Empire has played in the last four years. For 150 years we have been a part of the great British family, and during that time there has never been a time when we could rejoice with better reason than now at the grandeur, the power, and the glory of the Mother-country.

Meanwhile what of the Military Service Act and the enforcement of Conscription in Quebec? The beginning of 1919 did not show such an unfavorable situation as was believed in the rest of Canada. At the close of 1918 there had been 117,104 persons registered under the Act in this Province, with 115,707 claims for exemption and of the latter 89,575 had been allowed by local tribunals with only 3,711 disallowed. In Ontario the situation was better in this respect but not sufficiently so to permit of boasting — 125,750 registered, 118,128 claims for exemption, 94,197 allowed by local tribunals and 19,148 disallowed. On the

* It may be noted that the Ontario vote showed 269,000 against Conscription, with 515,000 for it — a negative total larger than that of the hostile French Canadian Province.

other hand there were 22,421 claims still to be dealt with in Quebec and only 4,783 in Ontario, while fully one-half of the appeals lodged in the former Province against the decision of the tribunals were placed by Government representatives. On February 15, 1919, the percentage of defaulters or men called up and not reporting were as follows in the various Military districts: London, 4·58; Toronto, 13·76; Kingston, 13·13; Montreal, 25·81; Quebec, 15·58; Halifax, 15·03; St. John, 10·80; Winnipeg, 19·67; Vancouver, 15·76; Regina, 15·92; Calgary, 14·08. At this time, however, the general result was not so favourable to Quebec and the draftees obtained under the Act showed a Dominion total of 21,978 of whom Quebec had only contributed 2,038. Much feeling was aroused elsewhere by this fact, by the violent outbreak and riots in Quebec City and by current statements; finally in the Commons on April 7, Sir Robert Borden, in explaining the Quebec City riots, took occasion to state that the Act would be rigorously enforced and that "persons who engaged in active or forcible resistence to the enforcement of this Act shall be forthwith enrolled in the Military forces of Canada, without regard to whether their class has been called out, without regard to any exemption that they may have procured, and subject only to the consideration that they shall be within military age."

Following this an important change occurred in the Province. Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, a notably loyal and able prelate and formerly Rector of Laval, visited Montreal and Quebec in April and used arguments of admitted force and persuasiveness along the lines of conciliation and the full acceptance of Conscription — after conferences with the Dominion leaders and Cardinal Bégin; *Le Soleil,* a Laurier organ, declared that liberty was not in this crisis an individual right so much as a collective responsibility; the Dominion Government established a close control over the Nationalist press and checked its wilder utterances;

L'Evenement of Quebec developed new life and energy in its loyal advocacy, and the Church newspapers came out in bitter condemnation of the Quebec anti-draft riots while the Seminary at Quebec and Laval University in Montreal took a new and active war attitude instead of one in which dignified aloofness was rather obvious. The real Quebec, which neither politicians nor Nationalists had adequately represented, came to the front, a Tank Corps was formed with more volunteers than could be utilized, opposition to the draft practically ceased and the Laval C. O. T. C. volunteered very largely for active service in a unit commanded by Lieut.-Col. R. de la B. Girouard; from May to July an ever-increasing number of draftees reported for service at Quebec and Montreal with 8,357 announced on August 16 out of a total of 50,356 for all Canada. Defaulters, however, were still too numerous and were stated at 12,000 on August 19 in the Quebec district alone and 10,000 a few weeks later. The latter figure was quoted by the Hon. N. W. Rowell but denied by *L'Evenement* which claimed that there were not half that number. At the close of the War it was stated officially that 115,000 men had reported under the Military Service Act throughout Canada and that of these Quebec contributed about 46,000; that there were 27,000 evaders or defaulters in the Dominion generally of whom 18,800 were from Quebec.

These facts indicate a better record for the Province than was popularly believed to exist. As a matter of fact, surface and superficial appearances, the blatant statements of the Nationalists and unpleasant incidents of riot or hot-headed speech-making, did not represent the feelings of the majority of the Province who in many cases had not even taken the trouble to vote against Conscription — the voting total in Quebec during the Elections being 316,000 compared with 784,000 in Ontario. There were fundamental and National differences in this recruiting matter also which were forgotten outside of the Province. There was the

absence of real military organization in Quebec and the lack of Militia enthusiasm, with but 12 French Canadian regiments in 1914 as against 52 in Ontario; there was a confirmed pacifism of thought which was the natural result of isolated racialism; there, also, was the periodical presence of a Nationalism which, under many forms and names, had existed since the days of Papineau; there was a serious lack of acquaintance between the newspapers, the journalists, and writers, the average politician of Quebec or Ontario with similar elements of public opinion in the other Provinces; there was the smaller proportion of eligible single men in Quebec as compared with Ontario — ages 20 to 34 showing 123,831 in Quebec (1911) compared with 201,400 in Ontario.

As a matter of fact, also, French Canadian ignorance of war issues and causes was no greater than that of the American people on August 4, 1914 — though, of course, 150 years within the British Empire should have given them a wider outlook; another difference was that this ignorance remained wrapped up in a robe of racial isolation while the United States gradually caught the spirit of English-speaking thought as it shared in the atmosphere of language-similarity and racial intercourse. It must be remembered that Canada as a whole in this War went through a continuous educative process and it was greatly to Sir Robert Borden's credit that he understood the necessity of this process. The country had to pass from a condition of extreme pacifism to one of continuous war-thought and an organized action which should replace the early enthusiasms caught and concentrated at Valcartier; it had to move toward the stage of personal, political and general recognition of the fact that its liberties and very existence were bound up with those of the Empire and Great Britain; it had to abandon cherished ideals of individual freedom for Government control of personal services; finally it had to throw the strongest of these ideals to the winds and

accept a compulsory military service which had never been dreamed of and was considered quite impossible even after two years of war. All these processes Quebec was expected to go through at the same time and at the same rate of speed as other Provinces. Yet its people were without the brilliant light of a language and press which trained the thought of a continent and voiced the feelings of Great Britain; without the ties of relationship which brought so many English Canadians close to their Motherland personally and also politically, socially, financially, commercially; without the pressure of knowledge and conviction and political action which came so naturally to the English-speaking masses of Canada; without special instruction, special Government appeal, or special and really necessary patriotic propaganda; without, above all, any serious check upon unpatriotic Nationalist teachings. Too little may have been given by Quebec; altogether too much was expected.

Too much, also, was expected from French Canadian love for France. It was not really there; it had been largely an eloquent figure of speech, or peroration to some verbal defiance of Ontario *Orangeistes*. The traditions of the French Canadian were those of Quebec during 300 years of North American struggle and Indian conflict and Canadian development, of a vague affection, perhaps, in cultured circles for a France of the days of Louis XIV. With the modern country of republican infidelity there was little association and that little had come in for severe criticism at the hands of English Canadian extremists before the *Entente* in Europe because a useful fact. It was hard, however, for English-speaking Canadians to understand this lack of regard for France in view of an oft-expressed devotion to the French language, or to appreciate the earnest belief that a language could conserve the faith of a race and preserve its isolated and cherished nationality. In 1917 and 1918 the situation in Quebec had become one of almost complete misunderstanding as to the real position

of the Province and the Empire in the War; an equally pronounced misconception existed in Ontario and elsewhere as to the French Canadian. Quebec was not really a Province of slackers nor was Ontario one of slanderers; the people were so temperamentally different that a Bourassa and *Le Devoir* could lead an overwhelming public sentiment in one while a Hocken and an *Orange Centinel* would only lead a class or section in the other; the Montreal Labour Council opposing National Service cards was really no worse than that of Winnipeg or Vancouver taking similar action; the tendency of rural regions in Quebec Province to avoid recruiting should have been more easy to condone than the vigorous fight of farmers in Ontario against Conscription when applied to their sons; the activity of some Catholic curés against Conscription, however it might be regretted, was no more church interference in politics than was the energetic Prohibition propaganda of the Methodists in Ontario; the exodus of young men from Quebec to the States in order to avoid vague tales of possible compulsion stood with reports of a similar movement in 1916–17 along the Ontario and New Brunswick frontiers. On the other hand the policy of Ontario in regulating the teaching of English and French in separate schools attended by Irish as well as French Catholics and admittedly under Government jurisdiction, was no more dictated by hostility to Quebec than by hatred of the Catholic Church.

As to War-action French Canadians did nearly as well in the First Contingent as native-born English Canadians, while official figures showed 16,268 French Canadians overseas on March 31, 1918; the bravery of those who constituted the 22nd Battalion was illustrated at Courcelette and in the 125 decorations won by it up to the close of 1917; the military skill of Quebec officers was indicated in the success of Maj.-Gen. A. C. Joly de Lotbiniére, Brig.-Gen. H. G. de Lotbiniére, Brig.-Gen. J. P. Landry, C.M.G., Brig.-Gen. F. M. Gaudet, C.M.G., and Brig.-Gen. T. L. Tremblay,

C.M.G., D.S.O.; the very names of enlistment showed that the best type of Quebec family had known its duty — Taschereau, Langelier, Garneau, Lemieux, Cimon, Dorion, Paquin, De Beaujcau, Casgrain, Papineau, Gouin, Archambault, De Lotbiniére, Laviolette, Panet, Pelletier, Fiset, Duchesnay, Le Blanc, Beaudry, Lacoste, Bruneau, Parent, De Salaberry, Brodeur, Dansereau, Beique, Bâby, De Lanaudiére; contributions to Patriotic Funds were fair in view of the small average of wealth amongst French Canadians and the large average of a rural population which lived comfortably but had small cash margins. The total for all Quebec — including the generous English-speaking minority — showed $556,000 of contributions to the Red Cross up to October 31, 1917, and $8,781,098 to the Canadian Patriotic Fund up to December 31, 1917. To the latter French Canadians were conspicuous subscribers despite the fact that their English confréres possessed most of the wealth of the Province.

The contributions in 1917 included $5,000 from the Hon. F. L. Beique, $12,500 from La Banque d'Hochelaga, $6,000 from La Banque Provinciale, $10,000 from Credit Foncier Franco-Canadian, $15,000 from La Seminaire de St. Sulpice. So, also in other years. To the five Government War Loans, Quebec Province contributed generously with a proportion of French Canadians which, in view of the rural lack of wealth and the urban lack of large capital, was good. The fact is illustrated by such subscriptions as those of 1917 which included $50,000 from La Societé des Artisans Canadien Français, $80,000 from the town of La Tuque, $25,000 from Caron et Fréres, Montreal, $10,000 from E. H. Lemay, Montreal, $25,000 each from A. N. Drolet, J. P. Coté and J. B. Renaud et Cie, Quebec, with $200,000 from Hon. G. E. Amyot, Quebec, and $100,000 from Mme. L. J. Forget, Montreal, $70,000 from Hon. F. L. Beique and $10,000 from Le Seminaire de St. Sulpice. In 1918 a few of the subscribers were Hudon and Orsali, Montreal,

$50,000, the City of Montreal $10,000, L. H. and M. Pinsonnault $25,000 each, Archbishop Bruchési and A. N. Bédard $10,000 each, Perrin Fréres et Cié $20,000, Tétreault Shoe Mfg. Co. $15,000, Jos. Daoust and Wilfred Viau $50,000 each, J. A. Valliancourt $20,000, City of Joliette $15,000. The total for the Province in all five Loans was $274,000,000. To the combined appeal of the Red Cross, Navy League, and Canadian War Contingent Association in November, 1918, Montreal contributed $1,293,000 and to the appeal of the Knights of Columbus in September that city gave $247,000. The Provincial Government with other and later grants such as that of $100,000 to the Navy League and Red Cross in November, and subscriptions to the War Loans of $1,800,000, contributed the following sums to special War purposes up to May, 1918:

Donation to the Imperial Government, cheese to the value of	$623,987
Subscriptions to French-Canadian Hosuital in Paris	5,000
Subscription to Relief Fund for Belgian war victims	30,000
Subscription to National Help Committee of Paris	39,096
Subscription to British Sailor's Relief Fund	5,000
Subscription to Imperial Hospitals Commission	12,000
Subscription to Canadian Patriotic Fund	1,000,000
Subscription to victims of Halifax disaster	100,000
Y. M. C. A. Red Triangle Fund for Soldiers	25,000
Total	$1,840,083

Summing up the situation, it would appear that Quebec in its response to the call of war did fairly well, that it would have done much better with a more systematized education in the issues involved and a more adequate reply to the continuous propaganda of the Nationalists; that the Hierarchy of the Church did its duty but not more than its duty and that its degree of action was naturally influenced by the prayer of a part of its people for the protection of their Mother-tongue in Ontario; that the political leaders did not care, for obvious reasons in time of war, to raise any direct issue with Mr. Bourassa and his anti-British advocacy; that France did not make such an appeal to the hearts of the French Canadian as had been thought would prove the case in a great emergency.

If, also, Quebec in this War produced a Henri Bourassa it also contributed to National life a Talbot Papineau who, in his famous letter from the Front, could use such ringing words of appeal, of argument, of warning, as will stand clear-cut upon the pages of history. He proclaimed his patriotic creed as follows: "Whatever criticisms may to-day be properly directed against the Constitutional structure of the British Empire, we are compelled to admit that the spiritual union of the self-governing portions of the Empire is a most necessary and desirable thing. Surely you will concede that the degree of civilization which they represent and the standards of individual and national liberty for which they stand are the highest and noblest to which the human race has yet attained and jealously to be protected against destruction by less developed Powers. The bonds which unite us for certain great purposes and which have proved so powerful in this common struggle must not be loosened. They may indeed be readjusted, but the great communities which the British Empire has joined together must not be broken asunder. If I thought that the development of a national spirit in Canada meant antagonism to the spirit which unites the Empire to-day, I would utterly repudiate the idea of a Canadian nation and would gladly accept the most exacting of Imperial organic unions." Under all conditions indicated the people of Quebec deserved credit for what they actually did and do not deserve the wholesale, indiscriminating censure which, in these years, was at times applied to them in other parts of the Dominion for what they did not do.

CHAPTER XV

UNION GOVERNMENT AND THE WAR ELECTIONS

Out of all the multifarious ways in which the War affected Canada — united political action in the early stages, its decline and final success, industrial development and the munition controversies, recruiting with all its successes and failures and corollary of conscription, French Canadian problems and opinions, Parliamentary issues and legislation — there gradually evolved one great need and obvious requirement. The ideal of a united or national Government, in face of a serious crisis, or in days of a great war struggle such as this of 1914–18 became a natural, instinctive impulse. It had long been a fact in Britain, though not always in name; it was a reality in France except for a small Socialist minority; it became one in New Zealand in 1916 and in Australia during 1917; all parties in South Africa were united, excepting the incorrigible Hertzog following. At the beginning of the War the Liberals of Canada had stood instantly and loyally behind the Borden Government; after a time rifts appeared in the co-operation and political differences developed; then came greater problems evolved by the pressure of war — the failure of recruiting, the situation in Quebec, the Conscription issue and enforcement when passed, the complications of Western thought and policy. At this stage Sir Wilfrid Laurier abandoned his co-operative attitude. He refused to join the Government in a recruiting appeal, he was understood from the first to be opposed to Conscription and finally fought it to the end, he keenly contested the War-times Election Act which disfranchised alien voters in the West, and refused to support a further extension of the Parliamentary term.

Sir Robert Borden, as the head of the Government since war began — the only original War Premier left in the world at its close except General Botha of South Africa — was the chief target of attack, and also the rallying point of action. The Liberal press, in an increasing degree during 1916 and then 1917, denounced him as slow in thought and policy, lacking in all initiative, devoid of personal or political strength. The very keenness and continuous character of this criticism proved the Premier to be a bigger man than his opponents would admit; at the same time the Opposition could not, or did not, suggest anyone who could take his place in party leadership and war-action — except, of course, their own Leader. As a matter of logical argument, if Sir Robert Borden was responsible for all the inevitable faults and weaknesses of a War Government in a nation of pacifists and of unpreparedness, he was also responsible for what was accomplished by that Government — for cabling and pledging Canadian co-operation two days before the War began, for having 33,000 men ready to ship abroad in six weeks, for enlisting 595,000 men and sending 420,000 overseas in four years, for keeping the industries of Canada going and building up a vast munition business of $1,000,000,000, for trebling Canada's trade in the year of war, for the establishment of pensions and a great Hospital system, for organizing a Soldier's settlement scheme, for large revenues, for taxation of varied interests. The fact was that many others shared with him in these actual accomplishments just as others were in part responsible for delays or mistakes in administration during these stormy days. He was, in fact, a careful, earnest, sincere leader of his party and people in a most difficult period; anxious to do the best for Empire and country, conscious of the greatness of the task before all rulers in these years, knowing much of the difficult and divergent temperaments of the Canadian public and the national danger of going too fast, as well as

the international danger of going too slow. That he was a leader in fact as well as name his Cabinet and Parliamentary management showed; that he had lots of political courage was proven by the fact of Conscription and the policy of Alien disfranchisement.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Liberal leader had faced the problems of war without that personal vigour and ambition which middle life still affords; with an inborn and ineradicable hatred of war and its conditions and necessities; with a devotion to Canada as he saw and felt the pulse of its national life which made him greatly fear the current complications of Imperial development and the responsibilities arising from this veritable "vortex of militarism"; with a natural love for his own race which made him understand and appreciate the causes of their aloofness from the War and made him hesitate to force their hands. At the beginning of 1917 he was still a power in the country. Quebec was supposed to be his whenever he called the stakes unless too great a handicap were given Bourassa; the West was full of war-restlessness, aversion to Tariffs, anxiety for the free trade which seemed to mean wider markets and for which the Liberal leader stood; Ontario and the Maritime Provinces had very many to whom the Laurier personality and record of 1896–1911 greatly appealed. Like Sir Robert Borden the Liberal leader, in these later years, was a "safe" man; he too was cautious — much more so than the Premier. As to War-action he issued a strongly worded message in the January (1917) *Liberal Monthly* which reviewed the obligations and work of the Allies, declared "it no vain national boast that the Canadian people have far exceeded the expectations laid down at the outset," and emphasized the need for greater Canadian effort and unity: "Let the young and healthy enlist, and those who cannot enlist serve the country by work in the fields, in the forest, in the mines, on the sea and in the shops. Every individual in the nation

can work; every hour of toil is conducive to victory, and work should be specifically directed to that end."

The Conservative press, at the beginning of 1917, looked askance at the idea of Union or National Government and regarded its advocacy by such Liberal journals as the Toronto *Star* with open suspicion, increased by the continuous attacks of that paper upon the Government's financial policy, the more than vigourous onslaughts of *The Globe* upon Mr. Rogers as a member of the Government, the vehement Government criticisms by the Regina *Leader* or Edmonton *Bulletin*. The tendency was to ask (1) what could or should a Coalition Government do which the Borden Government had not done; (2) what could such a Government have done up to date which the Borden Government had not done; (3) how was such a Government, if created, to represent the varied masses, classes, races and interests of the Dominion without a War-election which should be avoided if possible; (4) how could Sir Wilfrid Laurier consistently join such a Government and what would be its value without him; (5) if purely professional and financial men such as Sir T. Shaughnessy, Sir W. Mackenzie or Sir Vincent Meredith were included, as some suggested, how could they, or would they, handle such questions as Government ownership of railways? It was pointed out that in the United Kingdom the leaders of both great parties had been in favour of Coalition and, according to the Toronto *News* of March 28, that in Canada they were not; it was contended that the demand was merely a cry arising out of the discomforts of war conditions or the wishes of an Opposition out of office; the men who at this time commenced to advocate the policy were looked upon with suspicion as to party motives and, no doubt, the motives of some of them, then and afterwards, were clouded by this ever-present influence; it was urged by such vigourous Conservative journals as the Winnipeg *Telegram* that the Conservative Government had

subordinated party to national war-purposes and was, therefore, a National Government; it was claimed that if Sir W. Laurier would not join in such a simple national object as a united appeal for enlistment and war service it would be quite impossible to obtain union upon all the complex issues dividing the two parties.

There was, inevitably, a good deal of partisanship in the matter at all stages. If Sir Robert Borden could be replaced as leader in a Coalition Cabinet by a colourless Conservative or a leading Liberal it would obviously be a triumph for the Opposition, and in such a whispering gallery as Ottawa during the Session, or in the political correspondence of the press from Ottawa, there was no way of keeping party feeling out of the subject. Coalition was, therefore, up to the beginning of 1917, almost exclusively a Liberal propaganda so far as the press was concerned, though with support from the Toronto *World* and W. F. Maclean, M.P., from Sir Clifford Sifton and the Manitoba *Free Press,* from the Rev. Dr. C. W. Gordon and some other elements not firmly partisan in war matters. The Premier's personal view was favourable but his policy obviously was to await the expression of national opinion and, with attendance at the Imperial Conference for some months looming up, he left the subject for public consideration and the development of some crisis which would make political union imperative and therefore possible. His last words to Parliament before leaving for London (February 7) were significant: "I hope that we may all unite to throw the full strength of this country into the contest. I most earnestly invite the co-operation of gentlemen opposite and the co-operation of all the people in this country, regardless of race or of creed, to make this cause triumphant and to throw into this war the greatest effort of a united people."

Meanwhile the leaders did not commit themselves except that, at North Bay, before the Canadian Club on May 16,

N. W. Rowell, the Liberal leader in Ontario, came out definitely for Coalition of some kind: "Do you see any hope of our moving forward as a united nation, exerting our utmost efforts to win the War, and grappling courageously with our own domestic problems, unless we create a War Government? Do we not need a Government which will command the confidence of the people, which will command the confidence of the whole people, which will have the moral authority to adopt the measures necessary to meet the present critical situation, and which will move courageously and quickly along the path of duty, irrespective of personal or party consideration?" During these months public opinion distinctly grew more favourable to coalition of some kind and Canadian Clubs, Boards of Trade, Clerical speakers, an increasing number of newspapers and politicians, various conventions and public gatherings, declared in favour of the idea. The discussion, however, remained tentative and preparatory for conditions which far-seeing men felt were inevitable; yet it was lacking in leadership and light upon the basic issues involved. It remained for the Prime Minister, on his return from England and presentation to the country of the imperative need for Conscription and united effort, to give the vital impetus which the somewhat sluggish movement required. No hint was given in the Premier's speech on this subject (May 18), as to coalition; nor was much said about it for some days except as to the difficulties of enforcing Conscription by a party Government with the overhanging prospect, also, of a general election.

Then, on May 27, it became suddenly clear that a re-organization of the Government, in order to face the new issues involved, was on the *tapis*. Sir Robert Borden (May 28) asked the Opposition leader to meet him on the following day and then explained fully the War situation as he had been advised of it in detail during recent meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and in the freest possible dis-

cussions with British leaders; stated the conclusion he had come to that compulsory military service was essential to carry on Canada's military work and duty and explained the provisions of the proposed Bill; suggested the formation of a Coalition Government and asked the co-operation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier upon the basis that outside of the Prime Minister, each of the two political parties should have an equal representation in the Cabinet; urged the importance of avoiding, if possible, a war-time Election. The Liberal leader replied* with an expression of regret that he had not been consulted prior to the announcement as to Conscription; with the statement that he "dreaded very serious difficulties" if such a law were passed by the existing Parliament; with advice against holding any Caucus meeting during negotiations and the statement that he would consult Sir Lomer Gouin and other friends. He also intimated that Conscription should not be enforced until approved at a Referendum or general election.

At the same time the Premier formulated his proposals in writing as follows: "That a Coalition Government should be formed; that the Military Service Bill should be passed; that a pledge should be given not to enforce it until after a general election; and that Parliament should be dissolved and the Coalition Government should seek a mandate from the people." Further conferences of the leaders followed on June 1; on the 2nd an Opposition caucus took place, and on the 4th the leaders held a brief conference, with the *personnel* of the proposed Government said to be under consideration and no insuperable difficulties anticipated — according to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's letter of June 6 following. Then something happened. As Sir Wilfrid stated in this letter no impassable or serious divergence existed — with intimate questions affecting membership as the chief subject of discussion. Yet on the 6th a final conference was held and to quote his own

* Narrative given in a letter to the Prime Minister dated June 6 and made public on the 7th.

words to the Premier Sir Wilfrid said: "I answered that I had not seen my way clear to join the Government on the terms proposed. I asked you at the same time if Conscription was the only basis, to which you replied in the affirmative." The reason advanced for the refusal was, therefore, Conscription; but that issue was the same on May 28 and June 1 or 4, as it was on the 6th!

Difficulties within both parties were obvious. The French Canadians were almost a unit against the Compulsion Act and any Coalition aimed at its passage and enforcement; Western Liberal leaders, though they did not come into this stage of the discussion, were not, outside of Manitoba, inclined to be favourable; many active Liberals, everywhere, believed at this time that a general election would return Sir Wilfrid to power, solve the Quebec issue, give the West freer trade and Reciprocity, promote recruiting by new and more united effort. Moreover, the continued retention of Hon. R. Rogers in the Cabinet was a Liberal stumbling-block and probably the chief personal difficulty involved. The Premier, also, had no easy task in his own party. Leading Conservative members and men on the back-benches, alike, were suspicious of Liberal aims and policy; resentful of the continuous attacks upon Sir R. Borden himself; angry at the extreme bitterness of the onslaughts upon Mr. Rogers by *The Globe;* scornful as to Quebec and the Laurier or Nationalist attitude and skeptical as to the West and its free-trade Grain Growers. A new situation opened up as the result of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's refusal to join a Coalition Government. The letters between the leaders as made public on June 7 told the story of negotiations concisely and showed clearly that whatever the cause of the breakdown between June 4 and 6, the present and coming issue was between Borden and Conscription and Laurier and no-Conscription, with a general election essential to the settlement of the question. As Sir Robert put it in his reply: "I was convinced that

compulsory service was necessary, and must be included in the policy of the proposed Coalition. You, on the other hand, decided that you could not accept such a policy, and that you could not join a Government which adopted it."

Both leaders met their Parties in caucus and explained the situation, and it looked for the moment as if the Union project were killed. Several things, however, emerged out of what the Liberal press called a muddle, or a mess, and what the Conservative press was inclined to regard as a condition of good political strategy on the Premier's part as well as sound patriotism. His followers believed that he had put the Opposition in a difficult position — one which involved the certain disruption of the Liberal party with a loss to the Conservatives of only a few seats in Quebec. Many of them hoped the issue would be left at that and a distinct party gain scored. But Sir Robert Borden was not playing politics; he had entered upon a course which was difficult and perhaps in the end politically dangerous; he intended to see it through for patriotic and war reasons and the courage, patience and persistence which he showed in the next few months fill a conspicuous page in Canada's history. His speech in Caucus (June 7) was a stirring appeal to meet the War-crisis, to realize the sufferings of the soldiers, to support and strengthen the Government which was determined to support the men at the Front. In presenting the Conscription Bill to Parliament on June 11 the Premier was explicit as to the need of unity:

> It was my strong desire to bring about a union of all parties for the purpose of preventing any such disunion or strife as is apprehended. That effort was an absolutely sincere one, and I do not regret that it was made, although the delay which it occasioned may have given opportunity for increased agitation (in Quebec) and for excitement arising from misunlerstanding. I went so far as to agree that this Bill should not become effective until after a general election, in the hope that by this means all apprehension would be

> allayed, and that there might be a united effort to fulfil the great national purpose of winning this war. What may be necessary or expedient in that regard, I am yet willing to consider, for ever since this war began I have had one constant aim and it was this: to throw the full power and effort of Canada into the scale of right, liberty and justice for the winning of this war, and to maintain the unity of the Canadian people in that effort.

This desire had been the cause of delay in presenting the Bill; this was the reason for that period of waiting which followed the Premier's announcement of May 18 and which the Liberal press so resented. He wanted to have it dealt with by a reasonably united Parliament and not a party-divided one. It soon became clear, also, that Sir Robert intended to continue his effort to form a non-party or Union Government; that consultations would continue with the secondary Liberal leaders and groups; that every possible condition would be admitted and a willingness to compromise shown on any point except the fundamental one of war-action. This effort at political unity lasted through the vital debates in Parliament on Conscription, and regarding the Liberal leader's refusal to extend the Parliamentary term. During this stage in the Union Government movement one after another of the active, working leaders of Liberalism found it imperative to vote against Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his negative policy or Referendum plan. Each of those votes made Coalition easier and the Premier more determined. To a mere party man, bent upon winning an ensuing Election, these evidences of Opposition disintegration would have been satisfactory; but to the Premier they were only finger-posts pointing the way to union. A nation-wide discussion of the issue followed — with 26 dissentient Liberals announced in Parliament — on the Conscription issue. Sir Clifford Sifton, a former Liberal Minister, issued a clarion call on July 3 for national war unity and a Union War Gov-

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

The Duke of Connaught Congratulating the Captain of the Winning Tug of War Team at the Canadian Sports — July 1, 1918

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Lieut. General Sir Julian Byng (C. O. C. Canadians 1917) Out Walking With His Personal Staff

ernment; on July 26 Mr. Rowell told his constituents in North Oxford that he favoured a National Government, and would support Conscription.

Then another and Liberal phase of the situation developed. On July 26 a Convention of Liberal editors from all over Ontario declared by Resolution that: "Sir Robert Borden and his Government have proved themselves unequal to these tasks. No other purely party Government at the present time can deal with them. A war Cabinet and Government representing both parties and the strong forces of the nation working for the winning of the War is, therefore, necessary." The reference to Sir Robert Borden and his leadership was resented by *The News* and other Conservative papers and was, in fact, followed on the 27th by a vigorous attack in *The Star* upon the Premier and his Government, while *The Globe* of the same date declared that: "The question of a union Administration cannot be considered apart from its *personnel.* Some members of the present Government are impossible because of incompetence or worse. Some Liberals may be named for office who would be equally unacceptable." The attitude of this journal had not, as yet, been favourable to Union Government; even when the idea became more generally acceptable it did not want Borden leadership and expressed continued hostility to certain members of the Cabinet. Meantime, the *Bonne Entente* movement of 1916, the National Unity plan of earlier in 1917, had developed into a Win-the-War and National Government advocacy with J. M. Godfrey and others as the promoters of a new Convention which was held in Toronto on August 2–3. It declared by Resolution that "the Prime Minister should, without delay, form a National non-partisan Government, representative of all who demand vigourous prosecution of the War." On August 4 Sir Robert Borden received a deputation from this Convention and to them made his first

public comment upon the personal difficulties of his position and intimated that he was still working for Union:

> The responsibilities entailed upon the leader of a Government in a country such as ours, and under the conditions which have prevailed during the past three years, are extremely onerous, more so than can be realized by anyone who has not striven to fulfil them. But however severe, and even overpowering, they must be fulfilled to the full limit of one's strength and capacity. Like the men in the trenches, a Minister, under such conditions, must remain at his post until he is granted an honourable discharge. It has become more and more apparent during recent months that party differences must be sunk and all forces united in the effort to win the War. My endeavours for that end during recent weeks have not been wholly made public, but those who have an intimate knowledge of public affairs during that period are aware that no effort on my part has been wanting. It is appropriate on this occasion to make my fellow-countrymen fully acquainted with my desire and intentions. I hope that in the near future a Government may be formed, based upon a union of all persons, irrespective of party, race and creed, who believe that the struggle which we now wage is for the success of liberty and justice, who realize that it involves the destiny of our Dominion, of this Empire, and even of the world, and who, putting aside all differences on minor significance, are prepared to join in a united and determined effort to throw into the conflict the full power and strength of this Dominion.

While these movements and efforts were proceeding the Premier had been quietly working toward the same end. The Liberals generally believed to have been approached included N. W. Rowell, Toronto; Hon. G. H. Murray, Halifax; F. F. Pardee, Sarnia; Hugh Guthrie, Guelph; A. K. Maclean, Halifax; Michael Clark, Red Deer; G. E. McCraney, Saskatoon; H. A. Robson, Winnipeg; and Hon. J. A. Calder, Regina; while F. B. Carvell, Hon. G. P.

Graham and others, such as Sir John Eaton, Sir Wm. Hearst, and Lord Shaughnessy were mentioned more or less seriously. Despite rumours, no further advance was made to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. On August 9 the Govenor-General summoned a number of prominent men to a conference at Government House. No statement of proceedings was made public but it was announced that besides H. E. the Duke of Devonshire there were present Sir Robert Borden, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. G. P. Graham, Lord Shaughnessy, Sir Lomer Gouin, Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, Sir George Foster and Sir Clifford Sifton. It was an effort to bring together those who might help in such a Coalition as the Premier was working for. That it had some good results was probable; that it would not greatly influence the Quebec leaders was obvious from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's determined position and Sir Lomer Gouin's statement in Montreal on August 2: "The attitude of the Province of Quebec is sincere. To us it appears that a Government elected six years ago on a programme containing not one word pertaining to Military matters is not a Government which should impose Conscription on Canada to-day. Let us have elections, and if the majority of the Canadian people declare in favour of Conscription I am convinced that our Province, like the others, will submit to the people's will." He expressed approval of the Laurier attitude since the beginning of the Session. This incident, the passage of Conscription and other legislation, the clear evidence of Quebec's antagonism to the Government's policy or to a Coalition, the reasonable assurance of Ontario's favourable attitude, the coming of a Western Conference which would clear the air in those four Provinces, marked the close of Sir Robert's first efforts for Union Government.

The position of the West was a vital one in the formation of the proposed Administration as it also promised to be in a general election. Its political leaders were a

vigourous, fighting group of men, second to none in ability and superior to many in concentrated purpose and aggressive beliefs. Allied with Quebec or Sir Wilfrid Laurier against Conscription they would have made the issue more than uncertain; standing aside from both parties they would have held the balance of power against any Government under existing conditions. Sir Clifford Sifton had made some vigourous Western speeches in favour of the project which his powerful organ the Winnipeg *Free Press* was supporting; on the other hand the four Liberal Premiers looked upon the subject with some suspicions and apparently, also, resented the Sifton intervention. In July it was announced that a great Liberal Convention would be held which was to represent the West and the West alone. Amongst these politicians as they assembled at Winnipeg on August 7 there was full comprehension of the fact that in any coming elections the West, from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, would have 57 representatives instead of 35 and possess one-third of the total membership of the Commons instead of about one-fifth. With it all there was confidence that if they were united they could carry the West for the Federal House as they had done in Provincial contests and the feeling that the Foreign vote was safe to go against the Borden Government and Conscription. There was nothing particularly wrong to a loyal politician in this latter point. The votes were there, someone should poll them, they had largely gone Liberal in recent Provincial contests, it was obvious that they would be unlikely to support a war-policy in which they felt only the burdens and none of the sentiment of national life.

It was a great Convention and enthusiastically Liberal; it was anti-Government and anti-Borden beyond all doubt. Its War-policy resolution declared that "in times of peril the entire resources of the country, moral and material, man-power and wealth, are justly disposable by the State for the preservation of its national liberties", and that

the "imperative duty of the people of Canada to-day in regard to the War is its continued and vigourous prosecution"; its resolution as to Sir Wilfrid Laurier expressed "hope that his undoubted ability, his long experience and matchless statesmanship may be utilized in re-uniting the people of Canada in this great crisis, in the successful prosecution of the War and in carrying out the platform laid down by this Convention"; a Party resolution as to the Borden Government declared that it had exhibited gross incompetency and inefficiency and was no longer entitled to public confidence. There was public discussion of these proceedings and various Liberals throughout the country expressed disapproval; at the same time it really looked as if the Western Liberal Governments were finally lined up, after some indecision, against Coalition. Whatever the forces behind the conclusions of the Convention, its attitude marked the highest point of the opposition to Sir Robert Borden and his Union proposals and showed that Liberalism in the West, though divided in its ranks, contained a very strong element against Coalition with a strong desire for general elections and a party decision. Eastern Liberalism being also divided, with much vigourous support for the Union Government ideal, together with a natural desire in many quarters that such a Government should have a Liberal or non-Conservative head, the issue became complex. As to the leadership there was no doubt that a united Conservative party, outside of Quebec, was willing to follow Sir Robert in a re-organization of his own Government to affect a Coalition but was absolutely unwilling to hand over the reigns of power to any Liberal leader.

The question, therefore, was clearly one of a re-organization such as the Premier had so long urged or a general election fought amid chaotic conditions with a confused and divided Liberalism, a Conservative party without French Canadian support, a Quebec united behind its own

leader, a West with at least one certain vote — the French Canadians and the naturalized aliens. For a short time following the Convention even Unionist Liberals were disposed to doubt the possibility of the Prime Minister being able to succeed in his efforts. At this juncture came the resignation of Mr. Rogers as Minister of Public Works and the removal of one of the chief reasons given by many Liberals for not supporting the Premier's effort; almost at the same time came the introduction to Parliament of the Military Voters Bill which ensured a large Soldiers' vote for the Government, and on August 20 a gathering at Ottawa of Western Liberal public men, concerned in the Union Government discussions — Sir Clifford Sifton, his brother Hon. A. L. Sifton, Premier of Alberta; Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Public Works, Saskatchewan; H. W. Wood, President of the United Farmers of Alberta; T. A. Crerar, Winnipeg, President of the Grain Growers' Co.; and J. G. Turriff, M.P.

Concurrently with these events and following the Convention there was played at Ottawa a game of politics and patriotism so intermixed, so cleverly manipulated, so resourceful and varied in weapon and method as to have no precedent in Canadian history. For months Sir Robert Borden had pressed, with tact and diplomacy and honest earnestness, his project of Union Government, his appeal to the non-partisan sentiment of Parliament and the country at a serious crisis in world affairs; his effort to avert a general election and then, when it became inevitable, to prevent it from being chaotic and unfruitful in result and to make clear, also, the delaying evils of a Referendum on Conscription; his fear that an isolated and hostile Quebec might be established in the midst of Confederation unless the Conscription issue could be taken out of politics. Now, when it became clear that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and many of his followers, both East and West, wanted a general election, the Premier used every point of political vantage

which could come to him as a Party leader. Conciliation enlarged the split in Liberal ranks; he had never been a vehement disputant or shown personal feeling in politics and during this difficult session he kept the House upon as even a keel as possible. The War-time Franchise Act brought in a large electorate of women voters who would probably be friendly to the Government — the near relatives of men at the front — and disfranchised the large Western alien element which was undoubtedly hostile to both Government and War-policy. The attitude taken in presenting an Address to the King, asking for the extension of Parliament and at the same time stating that it would not be pressed unless given large Liberal support, put the onus of a war election upon Sir W. Laurier and his party. Taken altogether the Session, both before and after this last stage in his Union Government efforts, showed the Premier to be a stronger and more able man than his opponents had dreamed of and a more adroit and firmer leader than his own followers had believed him to be.

From August 20 onward the negotiations at Ottawa and elsewhere assumed an active and absorbing form. Much depended upon Mr. Calder. The position of Hon. A. L. Sifton, representing Alberta and accompanied to Ottawa by H. W. Wood, was known at this time to be favourable, as was that of the Manitoba Government, as a whole, with T. A. Crerar representing the Grain Growers of that Province. But Mr. Calder was at this time the leading Liberal of the West in many respects; he was an expert organizer and had been looked upon as the Opposition's chief Western support in that connection; he was a shrewd and far-seeing politician. On the 22nd it was announced that Messrs. Calder, Sifton, Wood and Crerar had left for the West; on the 23rd they met in Winnipeg and conferred with Mr. Premier Martin and Hon. C. A. Dunning of Saskatchewan and Hon. A. B. Hudson of the Manitoba Government. On August 29 the Conservative caucus met at Ottawa and

tendered the Prime Minister a demonstration of affection and support. Sir Robert reviewed the negotiations from his first effort to obtain Sir W. Laurier's adhesion to proposals for an equal representation of prominent Liberals and Conservatives; stated that three of the Western leaders had wired him from Winnipeg on August 23 that "they favoured a National Government and the formation of a War Council of six, of which Sir Robert Borden should be one, but they thought a change of leadership essential and suggested four gentlemen, of whom Sir George E. Foster was first named, and added the understanding that all three gentlemen would, under another leader, be willing to serve together with strong Eastern colleagues."

Sir Robert went on to say that the question of forming a Union Government, based upon the support of all elements of the population prepared to join in an earnest effort to help in winning the War, was above personal or party consideration. He strongly emphasized his conviction that any question as to the personal status or political fortunes of any individual was utterly insignificant and expressed his absolute willingness to retire altogether, or to serve under Sir George Foster, if the result would be to unite all elements of the population and have them represented in a Union Government. Sir George Foster followed and emphasized the warm friendship and co-operation which had existed between Sir Robert and himself, his appreciation of the immensity of the task that had confronted the Prime Minister since the outbreak of hostilities and of the untiring patience and devotion that had held him to the performance of duties — during which he had acquired vast knowledge of conditions and requirements not only in Canada but Overseas as well. He was willing to serve in any capacity but firmly believed that the full strength of the country would not be available unless Sir Robert Borden remained at the head of the

Government. Amidst a scene of enthusiasm the following Resolution was approved:

> We, the supporters of Sir Robert Borden's Government in the Parliament of Canada, record our emphatic approval of that Government's policy and achievements during these three years of war. We endorse the earnest and patient efforts of the Prime Minister to bring about a union of all the war forces of Canada and to give to this Dominion in these days of ever-increasing stress, suffering and peril, the advantage of an Administration which would typify that union and speak to the world the unswerving resolution of our people to see this war through to victory. For the purpose of such union we are, one and all, prepared to make any personal or party sacrifice that the occasion may demand. We record unanimously our profound admiration of the great work and splendid leadership of Sir Robert Borden. We sincerely believe that no other man can discharge with like capacity the tremendous task of Prime Minister during this crisis and that now, of all times, his continuance in the Premiership is indispensable to the nation and to his support we pledge our unalterable devotion.

This Conservative attitude, coupled with the known aversion of many Conservatives to any Coalition and the aggressive position of many Western Liberals as to a new leader who should not be Sir Robert, appeared once more to kill the project and a large part of the press began to line up for the Elections and to discuss party politics. But the patient persistence of the Prime Minister was not even yet fully appreciated. Elements of increasing popular support, also, were soon shown and resolutions passed by public meetings or interviews with public men poured into Ottawa. Meanwhile, also, the War-times Election Act had been introduced (September 6) and was slowly passing through Parliament, while its electoral significance was permeating political thought. It was announced at the same time that Sir Robert intended to re-organize his Cab-

inet at the close of the Session; Parliamentary debates over the War Franchise Bill became vehement and aroused strong party feeling. On the 10th the Prime Minister had replied to an inquiry from E. P. Davis, K.C., a leading Vancouver Liberal, that: "It is both my purpose and my expectation to form a Union Government before the general election, which is now imminent. As you are aware, I have during the past three and one-half months used my best endeavours for that purpose which has been publicly announced. . . . If it should prove impossible to form a Union Government before the general election I shall certainly do so if I should be returned to power." By September 24 negotiations were in full swing again with Mr. Premier Sifton back in Ottawa after spending some days in Winnipeg; with N. W. Rowell, M.L.A., touring the West and meeting Mr. Calder in Winnipeg, and Hon. H. C. Brewster and Senator Bostock at Regina; with Hon. J. D. Reid taking advice in Toronto and acting for the Premier who was recuperating from a slight illness in the wilds of Labelle County, Quebec.

On the 28th it was stated in the press that Messrs. Sifton, Calder and Crerar of the West had reconsidered their position and would come in, and on October 2 Messrs. Calder, Carvell, Ballantyne and others were at the capital. The next day a practical step in reconstruction was taken by the swearing in of Hugh Guthrie, K.C., M.P., as Solicitor-General — a position vacant since Mr. Meighen became Secretary of State — and Lieut.-Colonel C. C. Ballantyne as Minister of Public Works in place of Hon. R. Rogers. Colonel Ballantyne was a well-known business man, ex-President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and a moderate Liberal who had never taken part in politics; Mr. Guthrie was a life-long exponent of Liberalism who had been in Parliament since 1900. Following this event Ontario began to take action. Its politicians had been more or less quiescent on this issue for a time because

the feeling in its Liberal ranks was well known and it was felt that if the West could be won over there would be no serious difficulty as to this part of the East. A meeting of Conscriptionist-Liberals was held in Toronto on September 24, attended by many representative party men; the political pot began to boil with Sir Wilfrid Laurier in Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto trying to hold his followers together; conferences of Western and Eastern men who were considering Coalition were being held at Ottawa; Conscription, the enfranchisement of women closely related to soldiers and the disfranchisement of Western Aliens had become law; negotiations went on steadily in the various centres with ever-increasing evidence that a solution would be found. On October 12, 1917, the official announcement was made that success had come to the Prime Minister's prolonged efforts and that: "The delays incidental to the formation of a Union Government were no more than might have been anticipated, as the difficulties were immensely greater than those which occur in the formation of a strictly party Government. The conferences which have been taking place during the past four days have been characterized by a very earnest and sincere purpose on the part of all concerned to bring about the formation of a Union or National Government." The new Ministers were announced and were to be sworn in on the 13th. The Union Government as finally constituted was as follows:

Department	Minister	Politics
Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs	Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden	Cons.
President of the Privy Council	Hon. Newton Wesley Rowell, K.C.	Lib.
Minister of Trade and Commerce	Rt. Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster	Cons.
Minister of Public Works	Hon. Frank Bradstreet Carvell	Lib.
Minister of the Interior	Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C.	Cons.
Minister of Railways and Canals	Hon. John Dowsley Reid	Cons.
Minister of Finance	Hon. Sir Wm. Thomas White	Cons.
Postmaster-General	Lieut.-Col. Pierre Edouard Blondin	Cons.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries and Naval Service	Hon. Charles Colquhoun Ballantyne	Lib.
Minister of Justice	Hon. Charles Joseph Doherty, K.C.	Cons.

Department	Minister	Politics
Minister of Militia and Defence....	Maj.-Gen. Sydney Chilton Mewburn..	Lib.
Secretary of State.....	Hon. Martin Burrell	Cons.
Minister of Labour.....	Hon. Thomas Wilson Crothers, K.C..	Cons.
Minister of Inland Revenue	Hon. J. P. Albert Sévigny.....	Cons.
Minister of Customs.....	Hon. Arthur Lewis Sifton.....	Lib.
Minister of Agriculture.....	Hon. Thomas Alexander Crerar.....	Lib.
Minister of Militia — Overseas ...	Hon. Sir Albert Edward Kemp.....	Cons.
Minister of Immigration and Colonization	Hon. James Alexander Calder.....	Lib.
Solicitor-General	Hon. Hugh Guthrie, K.C.....	Lib.
Minister Without Portfolio.....	Hon. Gideon Decker Robertson.....	Lib.
Minister Without Portfolio.....	Hon. Alexander K. Maclean, K.C.....	Lib.
Minister Without Portfolio.....	Hon. Frank Cochrane	Cons.
Minister Without Portfolio.....	Sir James Alexander Lougheed.....	Cons.

The retiring Ministers were Sir G. H. Perley, Hon. F. Cochrane, Hon. W. J. Roche, Hon. J. D. Hazen; Messrs. Rogers and Patenaude had gone before the re-organization took place. Of the new Ministers Mr. Carvell had long been an outstanding figure in aggressive Liberalism, fearless in criticism and comment, honest in character and political repute; Mr. Crerar was not a politician of the old type but a man of wide agricultural experience and an effective and able leader in Western public affairs and interests of a special kind; Mr. Calder was a master of political organization and detail, a keen student of Western political thought and a leader of distinct initiative; Mr. Sifton was a silent, capable man who had proved that a good judge could also be a strong politician; General Mewburn was a patriotic soldier with clear organizing ability along military lines and an experience which specially fitted him for his new position; Mr. Rowell stood for social reform and what might be called higher politics — an eloquent, patriotic and forceful public man; Colonel Ballantyne as a manufacturer, business man and financier had won prominence in the life of Montreal; Mr. Robertson had for some time been a progressive yet moderate representative of Labour in the Senate and Mr. Maclean had been for years a conspicuous figure in the public life of Nova Scotia and,

in Parliament, was the chief Opposition critic in financial matters.

Of the older Ministers, the Conservatives who continued in office, Sir George Foster was *Doyen* in years and eloquence and experience; Sir Thomas White was a financial leader whose abilities and war policy had won him the respect of the whole country; Mr. Meighen was a man of great executive, rhetorical and administrative ability; Sir James Lougheed had succeeded as a politician in every task he had been given and his leadership of the Senate had been tactful and effective; Mr. Burrell had made an excellent Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Doherty a quiet and industrious Minister of Justice; Sir Edward Kemp had done particularly good work in the War Purchasing Commission, Mr. Crothers had never been afraid to express his views on Labour questions and Dr. Reid had been a careful administrator in frequent charge of Railways as well as of his own Department; Colonel Blondin and Mr. Sévigny had passed through various stages of French Canadian public life and now represented, with typical courtesy and courage, the best thought of their Province. The press tributes to the Prime Minister which followed were many, and unstinted in praise of his far-seeing, patient statecraft in this vital matter. The new Government had only been formed a few days when it issued a statement of war-policy, a programme of principles and practice, which was intended to appeal to the dominant sentiment of the country and to prove that the new non-political dispensation was energetic and intended to be effective. On October 18 the Prime Minister, after consultation with his colleagues, stated that: "The Union Government has been formed with a desire to give representation to all elements of the population supporting the purpose and effort of Canada in the War. Representative men of both political parties are included in its *personnel,* and it is intended forthwith to give to Labour special representa-

tion. . . . The lines of policy to be followed chiefly relate to the prosecution of the War and to the consideration and solution of problems arising during its progress or which will supervene upon the conclusion of peace." They were outlined as follows:

1. The vigourous prosecution of the War, the maintenance of Canada's effort by the provision of necessary reinforcements, the immediate enforcement of the Military Service Act and the most thorough co-operation with the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the other Dominions in all matters relating to the War.

2. Civil Service Reform, with a view to extending the principle of the present Civil Service Act to the outside Service, and thus to abolish patronage and to make appointments upon the sole standard of merit, with preference to returned soldiers who are duly qualified.

3. The extension of the Franchise to women, with suitable provisions for enabling married women to determine their nationality and to obtain naturalization notwithstanding marriage.

4. Adequate taxation of War Profits and increased taxation of Income as necessitated by the continuance of the War.

5. A strong and progressive policy of Immigration and Colonization, accompanied by suitable provisions to induce settlement upon the land, to encourage increased agricultural production, and to aid in the development of Agricultural resources.

6. Effective arrangements for Demobilization, for the care and vocational training of returned soldiers, for assistance in enabling them to settle upon the land, and for adequate pensions to those who have been disabled and to the dependents of those who have fallen.

7. The development of Transportation facilities, the co-operative management of the various railway systems so as to secure economy in operation, to avoid unnecessary construction and to secure the widest and most effective use of existing railway facilities; the encouragement and

development of the ship-building industry and the establishment of steamship lines upon both Oceans and upon the Great Lakes; co-operation with the various Provincial Governments for the improvement of highways and the investigation of the possibilities of Air Service for important national purposes.

8. The reduction of public expenditure, the avoidance of waste and the encouragement of thrift.

9. Effective measures to prevent excessive profits, to prohibit hoarding and to prevent combinations for the increase of prices, and thus reduce the cost of living.

10. The encouragement of co-operation among those engaged in agricultural production, with a view to diminishing the cost of production and marketing so that the price paid to the producer may conform more closely to that paid by the consumer.

11. The general development of all the varied resources of Canada and their conservation and utilization to the best advantage of the people with the co-operation and assistance of the State in every reasonable way for that purpose.

12. Adequate consideration of the needs of the industrial population, the maintenance of good relations between employers and employed, and such conditions of employment as will assure suitable standards of living among the labouring classes.

With a view to the development of this policy a truer understanding between East and West would be aimed at, while to better carry out the proposals, a Portfolio of Immigration and Colonization already had been established and special Committees of the Cabinet formed. This announcement was well received and the press, with a few exceptions, praised its theories and hoped for practical results. Following this the Government proceeded to clear up a number of difficult matters which required settlement and in the course of the next month announced: (1) That

there would hereafter be no patronage lists in any Department of the Government and that it was proposed to make the War Purchasing Commission a general purchasing agency for all the Departments; (2) that in future Outside Services, to which appointments in the past had been recommended by members of the Party in power, would be placed under the Civil Service Commission; (3) that patronage Lists in the Departments under which contracts had hitherto been awarded had been destroyed; (4) that such undertakings as the St. John Breakwater or Toronto Harbour Works, which were not thought essential to war-policy had been cut out or limited; (5) that a system of control in Cold-storage plants by which the margin of profit between the producer and consumer should be regulated, allowing the plants a profit of 7 per cent. on their investments, with a division of further profits through taxes up to 11 per cent., the remainder above that figure going to the Treasury and no sale to produce more than two cents of profit on the dollar, had been put in operation; (6) that the price of flour was regulated so that millers could make no higher profit than twenty-five cents a barrel and food supplies conserved by forbidding the use of grain, etc., in the making of Liquor; (7) that the Separation allowance of soldier dependents had been increased by five dollars a month, or 20 per cent.

On October 31 Sir Robert Borden issued an Election statement pointing out that men prominent in public life, in both political parties, had unselfishly stood aside in order that Union might be achieved; that the members of the Union Administration had sunk their party differences, disregarded all minor considerations, and united in an earnest effort for a supreme national purpose; that now they asked the people of Canada, of whatever party allegiance, to pursue the same course, to unite in the same spirit and thus to aid in the same purpose. He therefore urged the people of both parties, in the various ridings, to unite

and nominate Union candidates. At the same time the Elections were announced for December 17 with nominations on November 19 and the Yukon election on January 28, 1918. On November 12 the Premier issued a Manifesto to the people of Canada in which he reviewed the recruiting, Conscription and general war policy of his late Government and dealt at length with Government policy along the lines above stated. The succeeding elections were fought vigourously by the new Unionist organization, desperately by the divided and more or less broken Liberal party. Only the personality and *prestige* of Sir Wilfrid Laurier *plus* Quebec antagonism to Conscription gave it a fighting chance. N. W. Rowell, Sir George Foster and Sir Wm. Hearst in Ontario, F. B. Carvell in New Brunswick and the Atlantic Provinces generally, L. J. Tarte of *La Patrie* and Noal Chassé of *L'Evenement* in the small Quebec minority, T. C. Norris and A. B. Hudson in Manitoba, A. L. Sifton in Alberta and J. A. Calder in Saskatchewan were the chief personal elements on the Government side of the fighting. All the Provincial Premiers, except in Quebec, were claimed as Government supporters. The Liberals had no press support outside of Quebec — except three journals; the Unionists had only two newspapers in the whole of Quebec. H. H. Dewart, M.L.A., in Ontario and Hon. R. Lemieux in Quebec, with support from Sir Lomer Gouin and some of his Provincial ministers; W. R. Motherwell, George Langley, G. A. Bell and W. F. A. Turgeon of the Martin Government in Saskatchewan; C. W. Cross and J. R. Boyle, W. Gariepy and G. P. Smith of the Alberta Government, with Hon. Frank Oliver and the Edmonton *Bulletin;* W. W. B. McInnes and F. C. Wade, K.C., with J. H. King and J. W. deB. Farris of the Brewster Government in British Columbia; supported the Laurier campaign and policy.

The Liberal policy was propounded by Sir W. Laurier during a Western tour, in a couple of Quebec speeches, in

a letter (August 21) to the Win-the-War League, Toronto, and in a manifesto to the Electors. The latter document was issued on November 4. He declared that Unionist Liberals in the Government had done nothing new or effective. The hope of increased Immigration after the War was, he asserted, greatly impaired by the War-time Election Act, which had broken faith with naturalized Canadian citizens; the C. N. R. arrangement was denounced as paying for a stock property which the Government experts had declared absolutely without value; the high cost of living was said to be due to excessive profits, hoardings and combinations which the Government had not checked; while "no measure to reduce the cost could be effective unless and until the tariff is reformed and its pressure removed from certain commodities." The War-time Election Act was strongly denounced as: "A blot upon every instinct of justice, honesty and fair play. It takes away the franchise from men whom we invited to this country, to whom we promised all the rights and privileges of our citizenship, who trusted in our promises and who became, under our laws, British subjects and Canadian citizens. They are thus humiliated and treated with contempt under the pretence that being born in enemy countries, in Germany and Austria, they might be biased in favour of their native country and against their adopted country". As to Conscription he added these words: "All that I asked was that a measure of such moment should not be enforced by Parliament without an appeal to the people. I supported a Referendum for the reason that the Referendum is the most advanced and most modern method of consultation of the people, without the complications inseparable from a general election. . . . A fundamental objection to the Government's policy of Conscription is that it conscripts human life only, and that it does not attempt to conscript wealth, resources or the services of any persons other than those who come within the age limit prescribed by the Mili-

tary Service Act". His future policy was defined as it had been in his Win-the-War League letter mentioned above which used these words:

> (1) To confer immediately with Great Britain and her Allies with a view to ascertaining how, and to what extent, our participation can be utilized to the greatest advantage in the prosecution of the War, regard being had, on the one hand, to the necessities of the Allies for men, and, on the other hand, to our population, resources, industries, geographical and other essential considerations.
>
> (2) To bring into being a Government composed, as far as possible, of the ablest men in all classes, whose immediate task would be the effective and non-partisan organization of the whole nation on the lines determined upon.
>
> (3) To organize a vigourous and compact system of voluntary enlistment, conceived and carried out on strictly non-partisan and broadly national methods.
>
> (4) To devise and apply ways and means so that the full duty of Canada be generously performed toward our returned soldiers and their dependents; the wealth of Canada compelled to contribute its just and proper share of our burdens; and the mass of the people efficiently safeguarded from the greed of war profiteers.

The Protestant churches of Canada as a whole helped the Union Government and urged the vigourous prosecution of the War; Roman Catholic churches outside of Quebec were largely neutral so far as their pulpits were concerned but the hierarchy of the Church was represented by such strongly favourable leadership as that of Archbishop McNeill in Toronto and Bishop Fallon in London; in Quebec the Archbishops and Bishops did not intervene but many priests and curés supported the Laurier party and policy. Labour officially denounced Conscription; unofficially and generally it voted for the Government and Conscription. The Soldier vote Overseas and their women folk at home stood for Unionism and the War as was

expected. As the Elections proceeded it became fairly clear that the Government would be sustained. In the country, as a whole there was in 1911 a Conservative popular majority of 669,594 to 625,103; in 1908, 1904, 1900 and 1896 there had been a Liberal popular majority averaging 60,000 in the four Elections; to this popular vote a part of the women now were added. In the late House the members totalled 221; in the new one they were to be 235. Nominations took place on November 19, and 18 acclamations were announced; others were chosen later owing to retirement of opponents and, by Election day, 29 had been returned without opposition, of whom 11 were Government supporters and 18 in favour of the Opposition — all but three of the latter from Quebec. The final result showed a Unionist majority of 71 with details as follows:

Province	Lib.	Liberal Union	Cons. Union	Gov't Civilian Vote	Opp. Civilian Vote	Gov't Soldiers' Vote	Opp. Soldiers' Vote
P. E. Island....	2	0	2	10,450	12,224	2,775	434
Nova Scotia ...	4	3	9	40,985	48,831	10,699	1,474
New Brunswick.	4	4	3	35,871	32,397	9,934	919
Quebec.....	62	1	2	61,808	240,504	14,206	2,927
Ontario.....	8	12	62	419,928	263,300	95,212	5,793
Manitoba.....	1	6	8	83,469	26,073	23,698	1,157
Saskatchewan ..	0	7	9	68,424	30,829	12,996	2,672
Alberta.....	1	4	7	60,399	48,865	19,675	1,055
British Columbia	0	1	12	59,944	40,050	26,461	2,059
Yukon.....	0	0	1	666	776	293	32
	82	38	115	841,944	744,849	215,849	18,522

Following the Elections the Union Government proceeded to carry out more of its pledges and to develop other elements of policy. The Military Service Act was applied and enforced and two-thirds of the suggested 100,000 men obtained; a vigourous food production campaign was carried out and the farmers greatly aided, with 9,000,000 more acres under cultivation in 1918 than in 1917; the Canada Food Board for regulation and restriction of food supplies was established; munitions were still more largely produced and ship-building encouraged with 446,000 tons of wooden and steel ships launched from Canadian shipyards

during 1918; the Business Profits Tax was continued and broadened in application, the Income tax increased and more closely applied, luxuries such as jewelry and automobiles were taxed and the import of non-essential products prohibited; hundreds of millions were lent to Great Britain and the Second Victory Loan brought in subscriptions of $687,000,000 which went still further to promote production and encourage industry; a Soldiers' Land Settlement Board was established, a Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment created, plans for demobilization organized, a Repatriation and Employment Committee of the Cabinet formed; financial and corporation profits were controlled by legislation and Trade Missions established at Washington and London; the Canadian Northern Railway was acquired and placed under a Government board of business men and railway experts for operation; political patronage in the purchase of supplies was abolished, and the importation, manufacture and inter-Provincial trade in intoxicating spirits was prohibited during the War; Women were enfranchised, while $25,000,000 was set aside for Housing purposes; Imperial and International relations were developed along new and broader lines with National autonomy and Imperial unity conserved and strengthened.

CHAPTER XVI

THE END—CANADA A BRITISH NATION

THE year 1914 had seen Canada enter the World War as one of a number of dependant Dominions, or subsidiary countries in a great British Empire; the year 1919 saw Canada a recognized nation in a group of nations still called and still acting unitedly as the British Empire. Within the Empire its Prime Minister had during 1917 and 1918 sat as a member of an Imperial War Cabinet and had helped Great Britain to guide the greater events of war-time action; its right to share in the negotiations and terms of Peace was freely recognized by British leaders as a natural consequence of national participation in the War. In form its right of separate action and policy was at the Peace Conference admitted; in effect it remained one of the British Delegation with all the *prestige* and influence which that position involved at a world-gathering where Britain was the dominant power and British policy was the prevailing force.

There were certain things which the War and the events at its close had clearly proved. The first was that under the world-conditions of this time small nations, weak countries, had and have no real chance of power, influence, or *prestige*. In war they were subject to all the varied exigencies of the conflict and to the military, naval, or trade needs of the great Powers; in peace they were at the mercy of greater national forces in negotiation, terms, arrangements, trade, tariff, shipping and other details. The second obvious point was that countries like Canada and Australia or South Africa, which were in themselves little nations just as Holland or Serbia, Norway or Greece were little nations, had as autonomous parts of a great Empire a power and

prestige far beyond those of so-called independent nationalities. In war they possessed a vastly greater security; in peace they were a potent force at the Conference table and had a real place in the attempted re-creation of the world. A third was the removal of one great bar to closer union amongst British nations by the evident fact that nations, little and big, could sit together at Versailles and deal with questions of government, finance, trade, peace and war, treaty-making and sovereign powers, and could make all kinds of international pacts and agreements without any nation losing its autonomy or bartering its independence — whatever the degrees of influence which might exist.

If the Supreme War Council of the Allies could sit at Paris for a year and direct the strategy and war-policy of French, British, Belgian, Serbian, Italian, Greek, and Indian armies without affecting national rights; if Marshal Foch could control and guide the fighting action of vast armies of allied peoples without touching the tender national susceptibilities and powers of the great countries concerned; if representatives of Canada, Australia and South Africa could, in conference with the great Powers of the world, finally restrict their territorial claims to mandatory rights under international control without affecting their status as British nations; it became clear that consultative agreements, administrative or executive action within the great but still lesser sphere of the British Empire could be evolved and carried on, if desired by the peoples concerned, without injuring autonomous rights or necessarily involving centralization of government. If Canada could place 150,000 troops in France at one time under the absolute control of the British War Office and send its hospitals from Boulogne to Salonika under British Army control without affecting the autonomy of the Dominion; if Canadian and Australian Ministers could sit side by side as British representatives in International

Councils in Paris, or the Premiers of Canada, Australia and New Zealand sit at the Council board of the British Cabinet, or Dominion Ministers sit in a new Imperial War Cabinet at London, or the Australian Premier be sworn in a member of the Canadian Privy Council, without injuring British constitutional autonomy and Colonial self-government; if all these and many other incidents could occur during a few years of war and peace, surely there was no fundamental reason for the lover of autonomy to fear closer Imperial unity after the War or to deem a concentrated policy of co-ordinated self-defence in trade, finance and military or naval matters, either impossible or necessarily undesirable!

In the constitutional development of this period Canada and Sir Robert Borden helped to lead the way as Canada and its soldiers did in certain great battles of the War. Of the Imperial War Cabinet much might be said. The first explanation of its scope, nature and objects was given by Mr. Lloyd George in an interview on January 25, 1917, as follows: "It will deal with all general questions affecting the War. The Prime Ministers or their representatives will be temporary members of the War Cabinet, and we propose to arrange that all matters of first-rate importance should be considered at a series of special meetings. Nothing affecting the Dominions, the conduct of the War, or negotiations for peace will be excluded from its purview. There will, of course, be domestic questions which each part of the Empire must settle for itself — questions such as recruiting or home legislation. All the different problems connected with making peace, as was stated in the Government's invitation, will the threshed out; the War policy of the Empire will be clearly defined, and of great importance is what I may call the preparation for peace. You do not suppose that the overseas nations can raise and place in the field armies containing an enormous proportion of their best manhood and not want to have a say,

and a real say, in determining the use to which they are to be put? That seems to us an impossible and undemocratic proposition."

At the Imperial War Cabinet meetings of 1917 which totalled 14 in number and followed the opening date of March 20 all the Dominions were represented except Australia, which was politically tied up at the moment; India also had its place, and the Imperial Premier announced on May 17 that the sessions were to be continued once a year or oftener and described this decision of its members as "a landmark in the constitutional history of the British Empire." Sir Robert Borden in a London speech on April 2 used similar language: "The Imperial War Cabinet as constituted to-day has been summoned for definite and specific purposes, publicly stated, which involve questions of the most vital concern to the whole Empire. With the constitution of that Cabinet a new era has dawned and a new page of history has been written. It is not for me to prophesy as to the future significance of these pregnant events; but those who have given thought and energy to every effort for full Constitutional development of the Overseas nations may be pardoned for believing that they discern therein the birth of a new and greater Imperial Commonwealth." In the Canadian Commons on May 18 he used these words:

> This practice and the ideal back of it so impressed itself upon the people of the United Kingdom, and upon their statesmen, that at the very last meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet a definite offer was made to the Overseas Dominions that this experiment should be continued in the future; that it should develop into a usage and into a convention; and that annually at least, and, if necessity should arise, oftener, there should assemble in London an Imperial Cabinet to deal with matters of common concern to the Empire . . . The future of this proposal will be a Cabinet of Governments rather than of Ministers. Having regard to the declarations of the Prime Minister of

> the United Kingdom and his colleagues, the proposal will carry with it much of advantage to the Overseas Dominions. I say that for this reason: It is not proposed that the Government of the United Kingdom shall, in foreign affairs, act first and consult afterwards. The principle has been definitely and finally laid down that in these matters the Dominions shall be consulted before the Empire is committed to any policy which might involve the issues of peace or war.

In 1918 the second Session of the Imperial War Cabinet was held at Downing Street beginning June 11 with the British Prime Minister presiding. Great Britain was also represented by Mr. Bonar Law, Lord Curzon, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. G. N. Barnes; South Africa by General J. C. Smuts and Sir Henry Burton; Canada by Sir Robert Borden, Hon. Arthur Meighen, Hon. J. A. Calder, Hon. N. W. Rowell and Sir A. E. Kemp; New Zealand by the Rt. Hon. W. N. Massey and Sir J. G. Ward; Newfoundland by the Rt. Hon. Wm. F. Lloyd. The representatives of Australia and India had not arrived but, as eventually in attendance, they comprised the Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes, Premier, and Sir Joseph Cook for Australia and Sir Satyendra P. Sinha and H. H. the Maharajah of Patiala, G.C.I.E., G.B.E., for India. It was more representative than the preceding meeting of 1917 and its first business was an assurance of Empire loyalty to H. M. the King, who replied as follows: "The Conference has met in circumstances of unparalleled gravity and is a proof and manifestation of the unity of the Empire in its determination to uphold the common rights and liberties of mankind. The King will follow its deliberations with keen interest, and he trusts that these deliberations may lead to an ever closer association of all parts of his Empire in their resolve to defeat the common enemy and to build up an Empire more free, more united, more strong for the future." These words described the objects in a general sense of the Imperial War Cabinet; its spirit and constitution were well

defined by Sir Robert Borden in an address on June 21. He said: "We meet on terms of perfect equality. If I might describe it I should say it is a Cabinet of Governments represented by Ministers responsible to their own Governments, the conclusions of the Cabinet to be carried out by the parliaments of the Empire. Each nation retains its perfect autonomy, and I venture to express the hope, as I did last year, that there will be found in it the germ of a constitutional development which will form the basis of its unity in years to come." Mr. Premier Hughes of Australia on the same occasion defined this new policy as changing the Empire into "a Commonwealth of nations marching to a still more glorious destiny."

Meanwhile, as in 1917, the meetings of the Imperial Conference were being held concurrently, or every other day, and varied resolutions were discussed and passed. The members of the Imperial War Cabinet were not necessarily members of the Conference; practically they were so, and with them were other Canadian Ministers such as Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine, and Maj.-Gen. S. C. Mewburn, Minister of Militia. The 1917 Conference had passed important resolutions, of which one suggested the postponement of any re-arrangement of Empire constitutional relations until after the War and the calling of a special Conference to that end while defining the Dominions as "autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth" and recognizing India as entitled to full and equitable representation in the Government of the Empire. In 1918 demobilization problems were largely dealt with, the development of petroleum supplies within the Empire urged, the restriction for a period of enemy naturalization and rights throughout the Empire approved, reciprocity in emigration and citizen rights with India suggested, an Imperial Court of Appeal approved. As to these proceedings the Canadian Premier, speaking on July 30, stated that: "One class of resolutions dealt definitely with mat-

ters of great moment. Another class commended to the attention of the various Governments questions requiring fuller consideration, as well as the executive and Parliamentary action of each. The third class comprised resolutions which set up standing Committees representing the United Kingdom and the Dominions for the purpose of investigating and reporting to the Governments concerned. This last class included demobilization, regulation of ocean freight rates, and control of the raw materials of the Empire." On July 26 the King received the Delegates and in his farewell speech spoke of the war crisis and added: "The efforts that you have put forth, ever increasing as the danger grows greater, are a source of pride and comfort to me, as they are of wonder to the whole world. The Empire is founded on a rock of unity, which no storms can shake or overthrow." Meantime the proceedings of the Imperial War Cabinet had of course been private, but on July 26 a cabled review by F. A. MacKenzie, a capable and reliable correspondent, summarized its proceedings as follows:

> While the proceedings of the War Cabinet were secret, we know from Mr. Lloyd George's public statement that the Dominion representatives helped to discuss and consider our peace terms, settling the main principles. It is common knowledge that the Dominion Premiers helped to reconsider and resettle the entire foundation of the military principles of our campaigns in close consultation with leading representatives of our Allies. They established, reshaped, rebuilt unitedly the foundations upon which the Allied conduct of the war will be waged.
>
> Their presence has been regarded by the British Cabinet with appreciation and gratitude. Mr. Lloyd George has repeatedly given expression to this feeling. They have strengthened his hands and brought fresh points of view. They have acted not alone as mere listeners, but as active, responsible colleagues, discussing, debating and arriving at a verdict of common minds. They have

> evidently arrived at completely harmonious decisions. They virtually established recognition of the principle that Dominions sharing the common burden shall share the common direction of the Empire's war policy.

Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Robert Borden and most of the other Delegates looked to a continuance of the Imperial Cabinet idea; as to its functions Sir Robert on July 30 pointed out that they dealt with matters of "common Imperial concern," while the British War Cabinet dealt with war matters local to the United Kingdom. The new system was believed to combine securely the two great essentials of Dominion or National autonomy with Imperial unity and security. Following on these constitutional developments came the announcement on August 20 that an important change had been arranged in the channels of communication between Ottawa and London. Except in matters of discipline and military operations Canada was then in complete control of her forces Overseas; she had for half a century been in control of her own home affairs and policies; she was growing into a full and free participation in the government and policy of the Empire; a new step was now taken and formulated in the terms of an Imperial War Cabinet resolution, approved on July 30, as follows:

> 1. The Prime Ministers of the Dominions, as members of the Imperial War Cabinet, have the right of direct communication with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and *vice versa*. Such communications should be confined to questions of Cabinet importance. The Prime Ministers themselves are the judges of such questions. Telegraphic communications between the Prime Ministers, should, as a rule, be conducted through the Colonial Office machinery, but this will not exclude the adoption of more direct means of communication in exceptional circumstances.
>
> 2. In order to secure continuity in the work of the Imperial War Cabinet and a permanent means of consultation during the war on the more impor-

> tant questions of common interest, the Prime Minister of each Dominion has the right to nominate a Cabinet Minister, either as a resident or visitor in London, to represent him at meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet to be held regularly between the plenary sessions.

While all these conditions were evolving others of an international nature were in the constitutional melting pot. To the outside world the British Empire had up to the outbreak of the great War been a unit with Great Britain as the dominant and dominating factor; as the War progressed the British Dominions and India were found to have all the military strength, the virility and ambition of powerful young nations; as Peace possibilities came up for discussion it was found that Great Britain was anxious to have their war-action fully recognized in the pending negotiations and to give them a place — anomalous perhaps, but practical and influential — in the Conferences and Councils of the Powers. At the seventh Session of the Supreme Allied Council in Paris (July 5, 1918), when all the aspects of the military situation were considered and important decisions were reached, one of the striking features of the occasion was the presence of the Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as well as several other Ministers from British Dominions. On behalf of the Council the Premiers of France and Italy expressed to these representatives of the British Empire the thanks of the Allies for services rendered on the battlefield by the troops of the British Colonies. At the first great Allied Conference of 1917 as to after-war fiscal and trade problems Canada had been represented by Sir G. E. Foster as one of the United Kingdom delegates; in the Peace Conferences of 1918–19 he and the other Colonial delegates desired to be direct representatives of the Dominions and yet to formally represent the whole Empire through Great Britain. Just how this was to be done was a problem, but by the aid and support of the United Kingdom statesmen it was

worked out to the satisfaction of the British and Dominion Governments; perhaps not wholly to that of other nations who saw the British Empire delegation in all the Conferences greatly strengthened in voice and influence. Mr. Lloyd George put the whole matter as follows in a speech to Canadian Editors visiting in London on July 15:

> This is a war in which we engaged the Empire, at a moment when we had no time to consult the Dominions as to policy and it is perfectly true that the policy which we adopted to protect small nations in Europe was a policy embarked upon without consultation with the Dominions. But you approved it. Henceforth you have the right to be consulted as to the policy beforehand, and this is the change which has been effected as a result of the war; for that reason an Imperial War Cabinet is a reality. Another point in which you have a voice in is the settlement of the conditions of peace. We have discussed war aims and the conditions under which we are prepared to make peace at the War Cabinet. We arrived at an agreement on the subject last year with the representatives of the Dominions and we shall reconsider the same problems in the light of events which have occurred since. Canada and Australia and New Zealand, yes, and Newfoundland, they have all contributed their share of sacrifice, and they are entitled to an equal voice with the representatives of these Islands — to determine the conditions under which we are prepared to make peace.

Following this period the Canadian Premier returned home for a brief space, but in November was again at London as a member of the Imperial Cabinet and an expected member of the coming Peace Conferences. He was accompanied by Sir G. E. Foster, Hon. A. L. Sifton and Hon. C. J. Doherty with Mr. Lloyd Harris as Chairman of a Trade Commission and other specialists in attendance. At the same time it was officially announced that during certain imperative and hastily convened meetings at Versailles and Paris nothing had been done by British Minis-

ters contrary to the agreements and decisions previously come to in the Imperial War Cabinet and that the Imperial Government had every intention of associating the Governments of the Dominions and India with itself at every stage in the future discussion of terms of Peace. The real difficulty developed after the statesmen from the Dominions had assembled in London and the arrangements for a meeting of the nations began to be considered. Each of the great Powers — Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States — were to be equally and equitably represented in the Conference by five delegates; how each of the British Dominions could come into the British delegation was an obvious problem. The United Kingdom with its large interests and immense contribution to the War had to be adequately represented; men like Lloyd George and Balfour and Curzon and Milner ought to be present, while Labour and different British parties demanded representation; how therefore could Borden and Hughes, Massey and Botha and Lloyd and delegates from India be included? Yet the Dominions asked for and could hardly be denied the rights accorded to all the small nations who had been Allies in the War. Had Great Britain and the Empire not been so strong in resources and great in war-power the Dominions would have lost out; as it was an effective compromise was ultimately arranged. Meantime the Imperial War Cabinet had again been meeting from time to time in its Third session and the Canadian mission had been busy studying and working out various phases of Peace negotiation and demobilization and after-war problems. On July 19, at a meeting of the Imperial Cabinet, the Dominions were represented by the Prime Ministers of Canada, Australia, South Africa and Newfoundland; representatives of India also were in attendance.

Upon the proposal of Sir Robert Borden it was decided that the Imperial War Cabinet and the sub-committees charged with propositions for the Peace Conference, should

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

M. Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister, Visiting the Canadian Front. He is Seen Looking at the German Lines in Lens

[By courtesy Canadian War Records.]

General Currie Inspecting the Trophies of Amiens

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Thanking Canadians for Deliverance of Valenciennes

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Victorious Canadians Reviewed in Mons

hold practically continuous sessions in order that by the time conversations with President Wilson opened, the attitude of the British representatives upon the large questions to be discussed at Versailles should be substantially defined. One of the chief committees of the Cabinet — including Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Doherty from Canada and Lord Robert Cecil, as chairman — was that dealing with the League of Nations proposal and, it may be added, more actual work was done in the practical construction of a policy along these lines at London, than in any other capital — even that of the United States. The Foreign Office for months had experts working upon the problem and the result of their labours was put in the hands of this Committee. The Canadian Premier's views were expressed in a speech to the American Society in London on November 28: "Let us have a League of Nations if it can be realized, but at least let us have understanding and unity of purpose and action between the two world-wide, English-speaking commonwealths which can save humanity in years to come from the unbearable horror, suffering and sacrifice of wars such as this. United by ties of race, language, literature and tradition, the nations of the Britannic Commonwealth and the United States can command the peace of the world." Sir Robert was more inclined to favour a British League of Nations *plus* the United States than the scheme generally associated with President Wilson's name, but he also understood the complexity and importance of the issue as presented at the Peace Conference, and on December 31 issued a message to the people of Canada in which he said:

> The approaching Peace Conference must in the first place address itself to the establishment of a new world-order of peace. That proposal is confronted by difficulties and complexities which it is almost impossible to over-estimate. So to control the material and territorial ambitions and jealousies of nations that their power and influence shall

> be held in trust for the common purpose of maintaining the world's peace, and of punishing lawlessness or aggression by any recalcitrant State, is a task of almost incredible difficulty. Yet the sacrifice, the suffering and the sorrow through which humanity has passed imperatively demand that this nobler victory shall be won. Attendant upon the task are a score of questions not easy of solution, and involving economic, financial and territorial considerations each of sufficient magnitude and intricacy to engage the full attention of the approaching Council of Nations.

Meantime the World War in its direct phases had practically ended with the Armistice of November 11, the ensuing occupation of German territory along the Rhine, the surrender of German battleships and submarines, the abdication of the Emperor Wilhelm, the overthrow of all existing German-Austrian governments and kingdoms, the establishment of many so-called republics. The Inter-Allied Peace Conference of 1919, held at Paris and Versailles for the purpose of preparing and promulgating terms of peace to Germany and its Allies and of advancing policies as to small or new nations which should safeguard conditions and promote settlement of the almost insoluble problems of the day, was opened on January 18 with M. Clémenceau in the chair and representatives present from all over the world. The five great Powers had done much preparatory work. The British Empire delegation comprised Messrs. D. Lloyd George, A. J. Balfour, A. Bonar Law and G. S. Barnes for the United Kingdom; Sir R. Borden, Sir G. E. Foster and Hon. C. J. Doherty for Canada; Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes and Sir Joseph Cook for Australia; Generals Botha and Smuts for South Africa; Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey and Sir J. G. Ward for New Zealand; Sir W. F. Lloyd for Newfoundland and Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu, the Maharajah of Bikaner and Sir S. P. Sinha for India. The arrangement agreed upon finally was that while the United Kingdom or British Empire could only

have a membership strength of five, and one vote, like each of the other Powers, large or small, yet the Empire delegates, as distinct from those of the United Kingdom, would sit and debate in the Conference and take part in its work or that of its Committees when appointed to do so as did those of other small nations.

Canada, Australia, South Africa and India were entitled to two delegates, New Zealand and Newfoundland to one. Great Britain was entitled to five delegates, as was each of the other Great Powers. British Ministers, however, only took four out of the five seats allowed them and allowed the fifth to a representative of the Dominions; it being taken in the discussions between the Great Powers by whichever Dominion was specially interested in the subject under discussion. The Secretariat of the British Empire delegation also included a representative of each Dominion. On the Committees the external Empire was suitably represented — the League of Nations had General Smuts; Reparation for Damages had W. M. Hughes as Vice-Chairman; the Mission to Adjust Polish Affairs had General Botha; the Mission to deal with Russian conditions had Sir Robert Borden; the Committee on International Ports, Waterways and Railways had Hon. A. L. Sifton as Vice-Chairman, etc. Of the tremendous questions dealt with by the Conference little can be said here. Canada, through its Prime Minister, took special interest in the League of Nations' project; Australia and New Zealand in the German Pacific Colonies and the mandatory policy of the Conference; South Africa in the League of Nations and the former African colonies of Germany. Out of all the complexities and controversies and responsibilities Canada emerged with a more definite reputation as a great country and people in the British Empire; its status as a nation within and without the Empire, at one and the same time, was not, however, calculated to clarify the already confused European view of British institutions in

their curiously free and yet binding Empire relationship. This and other developments of the period were anticipated and met in a speech by the Hon. N. W. Rowell, President of the Canadian Privy Council at Orono on August 23, 1918. He was dealing with matters already dealt with in these pages and anticipated the conditions which have just been referred to:

> The British Empire or Commonwealth is no longer a great Power with world-wide colonial possessions, or even a great central Power surrounded by self-governing Dominions. It is vastly greater than either — it is a coalition of free, self-governing nations, all of equal status, all owning allegiance to a common Sovereign and bound together by common ideals and purposes; and the Imperial War Cabinet is a development to meet the needs of this Commonwealth. The decisions just announced in reference to the constitution and work of the Imperial War Cabinet, mark the beginning of a new epoch in our Empire's history; they mark the full recognition of the national status of the Dominions, and the closer co-operation of the Dominions and the Mother-Country in all matters relating to the prosecution of war and terms of peace.

MEMBERS OF THE C. E. F. WHO WON THE VICTORIA CROSS IN THE WORLD WAR

Lieut. Wallace Lloyd Algie, Officers' Draft. (James Algie, father, 57 McPherson avenue, Toronto, Ont.) Born, Alton, Ont.; enlisted, Toronto, Ont., April 19, 1916.

Cpl. Colin Barr, 3rd (Form 35th) Battalion. (Joseph Barr, father, Mill-of-Boynde, Banff, Scotland.) Born, Banffshire, Scotland; enlisted, Toronto, Ont., April 5, 1915.

Lt.-Col. William Avery Bishop, R. F. C. (Form 7th, C. M. R.). (W. A. Bishop, R. N. S., Box 1015, Owen Sound, Ont.) Born, Owen Sound, Ont.; enlisted, London, Ont., March 30, 1915.

Cpl. Alexander Brereton, 144th Battalion. (Claude P. Brereton, father, Strathclair, Man.) Born, Oak River, Man.; enlisted, Winnipeg, Man., January 31, 1916.

Lieut. John Brillant, 189th Battalion. (Joseph Brillant, father, Bic, Rimouski Co., P. Q.) Born Assametquaghan. P. Q.; enlisted, Valcartier Camp, September 20, 1916.

Pte. Harry Brown, C. M. R., Depot Regiment (6 R. D.). (Mrs. Helen McAuliffe, mother, Omemee P. O., Ont.) Born, Gananoque, Ont.; enlisted, London, Ont., August 18, 1916.

Sgt. Hugh Cairns, 65th Battalion. (George H. Cairns, father, 832 Avenue G, North Saskatoon, Sask.) Born, Newcastle, England; enlisted, Saskatoon, Sask., August 2, 1915.

Capt. Frederick Wm. Campbell, 1st Battalion. (Mrs. Margaret Campbell, wife, Mount Forest, Ont.) Born, not stated; enlisted, not stated; date, not stated.

Cpl. Leo Clarke, 27th Battalion. (H. T. Clarke, R. N. S., 785 Pine street, Winnipeg, Man.) Born, Hamilton, Ont.; enlisted, Winnipeg, Man., February 25, 1915.

Lt.-Col. William H. Clark-Kennedy, 13th Battalion. (Mrs. Kate F. Clarke-Kennedy, wife, care Bank of Montreal, London, England.) Born, Ayrshire, Scotland; enlisted, Valcartier, P. Q., September 23, 1914.

Lieut. Robert Grierson Combe, 53rd Battalion. (Jean Donald Combe, wife, 1 Hazel Grove, Yelberton, Devon, England.) Born, Aberdeen, Scotland; enlisted, Sewell, July 16, 1915.

Cpl. Frederick Geo. Coppins, 1st Division Cavalry. (Mrs. W. Fox, R. N. S., 52 Warfield road, Crofton Park, Brockley, London, England.) Born, London, England; enlisted, Valcartier, P. Q., September 23, 1914.

Pte. John Bernard Croak, 55th Battalion. (James Croak, father, Glace Bay, C. B., N. S.) Born, Glace Bay, C. B., N. S.; enlisted, Sussex, N. B., August 7, 1915.

Pte. (Lt.) Thomas Dinesen, Quebec Regiment. (Mrs. Inglehorg Dinesen, mother, Ringsted, Denmark.) Born, Denmark; enlisted, Montreal, P. Q., June 26, 1917.

L. Cpl. F. Fisher, 13th Battalion. (W. H. Fisher, R. N. S., 376 Lansdown avenue, Westmount, Ont.) Born, St. Catharines, Ont.; enlisted, Valcartier, September 23, 1914.

Lieut. Gordon M. Flowerdew, L. S. H. (Mrs. Flowerdew, mother, Bilingford, Norfolk, England.) Born, Bilingford, England; enlisted, Valcartier, September 23, 1914.

Cpl. Herman James Good, Quebec Regiment. (Walter Good, father, S. Bathurst, Gloc Co., N. B.) Born, Bathurst, N. B.; enlisted, Sussex, N. B., June 29, 1915.

Lieut. Milton Fowler Gregg, R. C. R., N. S. R. (Geo. L. Gregg, R. N. S., Mountain Dale, Kings Co., N. S.) Born, N. B.; enlisted, Halifax, N. S., November 5, 1914.

Col. Sgt. Frederick William Hall, 8th Battalion. (Mrs. M. Hall, R. N. S., 30 Hargrave street, Winnipeg, Man.) Born, Kilkenny, Ireland; enlisted, Valcartier, September 26, 1914.

C. S. M. (T. Lt.) Robert Hanna, 29th Battalion. (Mrs. Sarah Hanna, mother, Aughnahoory, County Down, Ireland.) Born, Kilkell, Ireland; enlisted, Vancouver, B. C., November 9, 1914.

Lieut. Fred Maurice W. Harvey, 13th Battalion. (Mrs. Winifred Lelia Harvey, wife, 5 Leeson Park, Dublin, Ireland.) Born, Athboy, Ireland; enlisted, McLeod, Alta., February 8, 1915.

Sgt. Frederick Hobson, 20th Battalion. (Louise Hobson, R. N. S., 1381 Lansdown avenue, Toronto, Ont.) Born, London, England; enlisted, Toronto, Ont., November 10, 1914.

Pte. Thomas Wm. Holmes, 147th Battalion. (Mrs. E. M. Holmes, mother, 380 9th street, Owen Sound, Ont.) Born, Montreal, P. Q.; enlisted, Owen Sound, Ont., December 20, 1918.

Lieut. Samuel Lewis Honey, 78th Battalion. (Geo. E. Honey, father, R. R. No. 2, St. Catharines, Ont.) Born, Conn, Ont.; enlisted, Walkerton, Ont., January 22, 1915.

Capt. Bellenden Seymour Hutcheson, C. A. M. C. (Bellenden Hutcheson, father, Mound City, Ill., U. S. A.) Born, Mt. Carmel, U. S. A.; enlisted, Toronto, Ont., December 14, 1915.

Cpl. Joseph Kaeble, 189th Battalion. (Mrs. Joseph Kaeble, mother, Sayabec, P. Q.) Born, St. Moice, P. Q.; enlisted, Sayabec, P. Q., March 20, 1916.

Pte. (Lieut.) George Fraser Kerr, 3rd Battalion. (John J. Kerr, R. N. S., 135 Tyndall avenue, Toronto, Ont.) Born, Desoronto, Ont.; enlisted, Valcartier, P. Q., September 9, 1914.

Pte. John Chipman Kerr, 66th Battalion. (Mrs. J. C. Kerr, wife, 42 Seeton street, Hampstead Road, London, England.) Born, Fox River, N. S.; enlisted, Edmonton, September 25, 1915.

Pte. Cecil John Kinross, 51st Battalion. (James Sterling Kinross, R. N. S., Lougheed, Alta.) Born, Oxbridge, Middlesex, England; enlisted, Calgary, October 21, 1915.

Sgt. Arthur Geo. Knight, 10th Battalion. (Edward Henry Knight, R. N. S. Mead Vale Road, Red Hill, England.) Born, Mead Vale Road, Red Hill, England; enlisted, Regina, December 19, 1915.

Cpl. Filip Konowal, 77th Battalion. (Mrs. Filip Konowal, wife, Russia.) Born, Kedeski, Russia; enlisted, Ottawa, July 12, 1915.

Capt. Okill Massey Learmonth, 2nd Battalion. (Martha Learmonth, R. N. S., 43 Murray avenue, Quebec, P. Q.) Born, Quebec, P. Q.; enlisted, Quebec, P. Q., September 29, 1914.

Lieut. Graham Thomson Lyall, 102nd Battalion. (Rev. R. H. Lyall, father, Darween, Lancashire, England.) Born, Manchester, England; enlisted, St. Catharines, Ont., September 24, 1915.

Capt. Thain Wendell McDowell, 38th Battalion. (Mrs. J. F. Richardson, mother, Maitland, Ont.) Born Lachute, P. Q.; enlisted, Ottawa, Ont., February 1, 1915.

Capt. John MacGregor, 11th C. M. R. (Mrs. W. MacGregor, mother, Newlands, Urchange, Cawdor, Nairn, Scotland.) Born, Nairn, Scotland; enlisted, Vancouver, B. C., March 29, 1915.

Lieut. George Burdon McKean, 51st Battalion. (J. W. N. McKean, R. N. S., Box 553, Lethbridge, Alta.) Born, Bishop, Auckland, England; enlisted, Edmonton, Alta., January 23, 1915.

Lieut. Hugh McKenzie, P. P. C. L. I. (Mrs. H. McKenzie, R. N. S., 163 Beaudoin street, St. Henri, P. Q.) Born, Inverness, Scotland; enlisted, Ottawa, Ont., August 21, 1914.

Sgt. William Merrifield, 2nd Battalion. (William Merrifield, father, Aylmer Road, Hull, P. Q.) Born, Brentwood, Essex, England; enlisted, Valcartier, P. Q., August 23, 1914.

Pte. William Henry Metcalf, 12th Battalion. (Mrs. Thurso Rice, R. N. S., Dennyville, Maine, U. S. A.) Born, Waite, Wash., U. S. A.; enlisted, Valcartier, P. Q., September 23, 1914.

Pte. William Johnstone Milne, 46th Battalion. (David Milne, father, 10 Anderson street, Cambusnethan, Scotland.) Born, Cambusnethan, Scotland; enlisted, Moose Jaw, Sask., September 11, 1915.

Cpl. Harry Garnet Bedford Miner, 142nd Battalion. (John Miner, father, 102½ Harvey street, Chatham, Ont.) Born, Cedar Springs, Ont.; enlisted, London, Ont., December 1, 1915.

Sgt. George Harry Mullin, 28th Battalion. (Mrs. Effie Mullin, R. N. S., 710 Kings Road, Victoria, B. C.) Born, U. S. A.; enlisted, Winnipeg, Man., December 14, 1914.

Pte. Claude Joseph Patrick Nunney, 38th Battalion. (Mrs. D. J. McDonald, R. N. S., North Lancaster, Ont.) Born, Dublin, Ireland; enlisted, Ottawa, Ont., May 1, 1915.

Capt. Patrick John O'Kelly, 144th Battalion. (Mrs. Cecilia O'Kelly, mother, Suite 2, Chelsea Court, Winnipeg, Man.) Born, Winnipeg, Man.; enlisted, Winnipeg, Man., February 26, 1916.

Pte. Michael James O'Rourke, 47th Battalion. (Mrs. K. Mack, sister, 2564 Breway street, Montreal, P. Q.) Born, Limerick, Ireland; enlisted, New Westminster, B. C., March 23, 1915.

Pte. John George Pattison, 137th Battalion. (Mrs. Sophia Louise Pattison, wife, 1622 First avenue, Westmount, Calgary, Alta.) Born, Woolwich, Kent, England; enlisted, Calgary, Alta., March 6, 1916.

Major George Randolph Pearkes, 2nd C. M. R. (Mrs. L. Pearkes, mother, Mount Tomlie, B. C.) Born, Watford, England; enlisted, Victoria, B. C., March 2, 1915.

Lt.-Col. Cyrus Wesley Peck, 30th Battalion. (Mrs. K. E. Peck, R. N. D., Suite 11, Royal Mansions, 1183 Pacific avenue, Vancouver, B. C.) Born, Hopewell Hill, N. B.; enlisted, Victoria, B. C., November 8, 1914.

Pte. Walter Leigh Rayfield, 7th Battalion, B. C. R. (W. L. Rayfield, Jr., son, care Mrs. John Stretting, Redmond, Wash., U. S. A.) Born, Richmond, England; enlisted, Victoria, B. C., July 10, 1917.

Pte. James Richardson, Man. Regiment. (David Richardson, R. N. S., Chief of Police, Chilliwack, B. C.) Born, Bells Hills, Scotland; enlisted, Valcartier, P. Q., September 23, 1914.

Pte. James Peter Robertson, 13th C. M. R. (Mrs. Janet Robertson, mother, 656 5th street, S. E., Medicine Hat, Alta.) Born, Picton, N. S.; enlisted, McLeod, Alta., June 14, 1915.

Lieut. Charles Smith Rutherford, Quebec Regiment. (Mrs. Isabella Rutherford, mother, Colborne, Ont.) Born, Colborne, Ont.; enlisted, Toronto, Ont., March 2, 1916.

Capt. Francis Alexander Caron Scrimger, 14th Battalion. (Mrs. Francis Scrimger, wife, Bank of Montreal, 24 Corboro street, S. W. L, Non, England.) Born, Montreal; enlisted, Valcartier, September 23, 1914.

Lieut. Robert Shankland, 43rd Battalion. (William Shankland, father, 68 Church street, Ayr, Scotland.) Born, Ayr, Scotland; enlisted, Winnipeg, December 18, 1914.

L. Sergt. Ellis Welwood Sifton, 18th Battalion. (John J. Sifton, father, Wallacetown, Ont.) Born, Canada; enlisted, St. Thomas, Ont., October 23, 1914.

L. Cpl. Robert Spall, P. P. C. L. I. (Charles Spall, father, 2642 St. Urvain street, Montreal, P. Q.) Born, Ecling, Essex, England; enlisted, Winnipeg, July 28, 1915.

Lieut. H. Strachan, 34th F. G. H. (Mrs. A. Strachan, R. N. S., Chauvin, Alta.) Born, Linlithgow, Scotland; enlisted, England, July 15, 1915.

Lieut. James Edward Tait, Man. Regiment. (Mrs. Jessie Tait, wife, 71 Thelmo block, Burnell street, Winnipeg, Man.) Born, Dumfries, Scotland; enlisted, Winnipeg, Man., February 4, 1916.

Pte. John Francis Young, 87th Battalion. (Robert Charles Young, R. N. S., 376 St. Phillips street, St. Henry, Montreal, P. Q.) Born, Kidderminster, England; enlisted, Montreal, October 23, 1915.

Sgt. Raphael Louis Zengel, Sask. Regiment. (Mrs. Mary Jane Zengel, R. N. S., 114 17th avenue, N. E., Calgary, Alta.) Born, Minnesota, U. S. A.; enlisted, Virden, Man., January 7, 1915.

Capt. Coulson Norman Mitchell, Rail. Constr. Depot. (C. N. Mitchell, father, 310 Furby street, Winnipeg, Man.) Born, Winnipeg, Man.; enlisted, Ottawa, Ont., January 21, 1915.

DIARY OF THE WORLD WAR

1914

June 28	Francis Ferdinand shot at Sarajevo.
July 5	Kaiser's War Council at Potsdam.
July 23	Austro-Hungarian Note to Serbia.
July 28	Austria declared war on Serbia.
July 31	State of war in Germany.
Aug. 1	Germany declared war on Russia.
Aug. 2	German ultimatum to Belgium.
Aug. 3	Germany declared war on France.
Aug. 4	Great Britain declared war on Germany.
Aug. 10	France declared war on Austria.
Aug. 12	Great Britain declared war on Austria.
Aug. 15	Fall of Liege.
Aug. 16	British army landed in France.
Aug. 20	Germans occupied Brussels.
Aug. 23	Japan declared war on Germany.
Aug. 24	Fall of Namur.
Aug. 25	Sack of Louvain.
Aug. 26	Battle of Tannenberg.
Aug. 28	British victory in the Bight.
Aug. 29	New Zealanders in Samoa.
Sept. 2	Russians took Lemberg.
Sept. 3	Paris Government at Bordeaux.
Sept. 5	End of Retreat from Mons.
Sept. 6	First Marne battle begun.
Sept. 15	First Aisne Battle begun.
Sept. 16	Russians evacuated East Prussia.
Sept. 23	First British Air Raid in Germany.
Oct. 9	Fall of Antwerp.
Oct. 13	Belgian Government at Havre.
Oct. 20	First Battle of Ypres begun.
Nov. 1	Naval action off Coronel.
Nov. 5	Great Britain declared war on Turkey.
Nov. 7	Fall of Tsintau.
Nov. 10	*Emden* sunk.
Nov. 21	British occupied Basra.
Dec. 2	Austrians in Belgrade.
Dec. 8	Naval Battle off the Falklands.
Dec. 14	Serbians retook Belgrade.
Dec. 16	Germans bombarded West Hartlepool.
Dec. 18	Hussein Kamel Sultan of Egypt.
Dec. 24	First Air Raid on England.

1915

Jan. 24	Naval Battle off Dogger Bank.
Feb. 2	Turks defeated on Suez Canal.
Feb. 18	U-boat "Blockade" of England.
Feb. 25	Allied Fleet attacked Dardanelles.
Mar. 10	British captured Neuve Chapelle.
April 22	Second Battle of Ypres begun.
April 25	Allied landing in Gallipoli.
May 3	Battle of the Dunajec.
May 6	Battle at Krithia Gallipoli.
May 7	*Lusitania* torpedoed.

* The authority for these dates is chiefly *The London Times*, to which the Author's thanks are due.

1915

May 8 Germans occupied Libau.
May 11 German repulse at Ypres.
Mar. 22 Russians took Przemysl.
May 12 General Botha occupied Windhuk.
May 16 Russian Retreat to the San.
May 23 Italy declared war on Austria.
May 25 Coalition Cabinet formed.
June 2 Italians crossed Isonzo.
June 3 Russians evacuated Przemysl.
June 22 Austro-Germans recaptured Lemberg.
July 2 *Pommern* sunk in Baltic.
July 9 German South-West Africa conquered.
July 24 Nasiriyeh, on Euphrates, taken.
Aug. 4 Fall of Warsaw.
Aug. 5 Fall of Ivangorod.
Aug. 6 New Landing at Suvla Bay.
Aug. 8 Gen. Birdwood's advance at Anzac.
Aug. 9 British success near Hooge.
Aug. 15 National Registration.
Aug. 17 Fall of Kovno.
Aug. 18 Russian victory in Riga Gulf.
Aug. 19 Fall of Novo-Georgievsk.
Aug. 21 Cotton declared contraband.
Aug. 25 Fall of Brest-Litovsk.
Sept. 1 General Alexieff as Chief of Staff.
Sept. 2 Fall of Grodno.
Sept. 5 Tsar as Generalissimo.
Sept. 7 Russian victory near Tarnopol.
Sept. 18 Fall of Vilna.
Sept. 21 Russian Retreat ended.
Sept. 25 Battle of Loos and in Champagne.
Sept. 28 Victory at Kut-el-Amara.
Oct. 4 Russian Ultimatum to Bulgaria.
Oct. 5 Allied Landing at Salonika.
Oct. 6 Austro-German invasion of Serbia.
Oct. 9 Belgrade occupied.
Oct. 14 Bulgaria at war with Serbia.
Oct. 17 Allied Note to Greece.
Oct. 19 Lord Derby on the Forty-six Groups.
Oct. 22 Bulgarians occupy Uskub.
Oct. 28 M. Briand French Premier.
Nov. 5 Fall of Nish.
Nov. 22 Battle of Ctesiphon.
Nov. 29 British withdrew from Ctesiphon.
Dec. 2 Fall of Monastir.
Dec. 3 General Townshend at Kut.
Dec. 10 Allied Retreat in Macedonia.
Dec. 13 Salonika lines fortified.
Dec. 15 Sir D. Haig C.-in-C. in France.
Dec. 19 Withdrawal from Gallipoli.
Dec. 25 Turkish Defeat at Kut.

1916

Jan. 8 Gallipoli Evacuation complete.
Jan. 13 Fall of Cettinje.
Feb. 9 General Smuts appointed to East Africa.
Feb. 16 Russians entered Erzerum.
Feb. 18 German Kamerun conquered.
Feb. 21 Battle of Verdun begun.
Feb. 24 Germans took Fort Douamont.
Mar. 16 Admiral Von Tirpitz dismissed.
April 9 German assault at Verdun.
April 17 Russians entered Trebizond.
April 24 Rebellion in Ireland.
April 29 Fall of Kut-el-Amara.
May 24 British Conscription Bill passed.
May 31 Battle of Jutland.
June 4 General Brusiloff's offensive
June 5 Lord Kitchener lost at sea.
June 14 Allied Economic Conference in Paris.
June 21 Mecca taken by Grand Sherif.

1916

July 1 Somme Battle begun.
July 25 Russians occupied Ersinjan.
Aug. 6 Italian offensive on Isonzo.
Aug. 10 Russians at Stanislau.
Aug. 27 Rumania entered the War.
Aug. 29 Hindenburg Chief of Staff.
Sept. 3 Zeppelin destroyed at Cuffley.
Sept. 26 British took Thiepval and Combles.
Oct. 10 Allied Ultimatum to Greece.
Nov. 1 Italian advance on Carso.
Nov. 13 British Victory on the Ancre.
Nov. 18 Serbians and French took Monastir.
Nov. 29 Grand Fleet under Sir D. Beatty.
Dec. 1 Anti-Allied Riot in Athens.
Dec. 5 Resignation of Mr. Asquith.
Dec. 6 Germans entered Bucharest.
Dec. 7 Mr. Lloyd George Prime Minister.
Dec. 12 German "Peace Proposals."
Dec. 15 French Victory at Verdun.
Dec. 20 President Wilson's Peace Note.

1917

Jan. 1 Turkey denounced Berlin Treaty.
Feb. 1 "Unrestricted" U-Boat War begun.
Feb. 3 America broke with Germany.
Feb. 6 British captured Grandcourt.
Feb. 24 British took Kut-el-Amara.
Mar. 11 British entered Bagdad.
Mar. 12 Revolution in Russia.
Mar. 15 Abdication of the Tsar.
Mar. 18 British entered Peronne.
Mar. 21 First British Imperial War Cabinet.
April 6 America declared war on Germany.
April 9 Battle of Vimy Ridge begun.
June 7 British Victory at Messines Ridge.
June 12 Abdication of King Constantine.
June 26 First American troops in France.
July 14 Bethmann Hollweg dismissed.
July 17 British Royal House styled "Windsor."
July 19 Reichstag "Peace" Resolution.
July 31 Great Allied Attack around Ypres.
Aug. 29 President Wilson's Note to the Pope.
Sept. 4 Germans occupied Riga.
Sept. 15 Russian Republic proclaimed.
Oct. 24 Italian Defeat at Caporetto.
Oct. 29 Fall of Udine.
Oct. 30 Chancellor Michaelis dismissed.
Oct. 31 British captured Beersheba.
Nov. 1 German Retreat on Chemin des Dames.
Nov. 4 British troops in Italy.
Nov. 6 British stormed Passchendaele Ridge.
Nov. 7 British captured Gaza.
Nov. 8 Bolshevist *coup de état* in Russia.
Nov. 9 Italian stand on the Piave.
Nov. 17 British in Jaffa.
Nov. 18 General Maude's death in Mesopotamia.
Nov. 20 British Victory at Cambrai.
Nov. 30 German reaction at Cambrai.
Dec. 6 Armistice on Russian Front.
Dec. 9 British captured Jerusalem.

1918

Jan. 5	Mr. Lloyd George on War Aims.
Jan. 20	*Breslau* sunk; *Göeben* damaged.
Feb. 1	Germany recognized Ukraine.
Feb. 9	First Brest Treaty Signed.
Feb. 16	General Wilson Chief of Staff.
Feb. 18	German Invasion of Russia.
Feb. 21	British capture Jericho.
Feb. 24	Turks recovered Trebizond.
Feb. 25	Germans at Reval.
Mar. 3	Second Brest Treaty.
Mar. 7	German Peace with Finland.
Mar. 11	Turks recovered Erzerum.
Mar. 13	Germans at Odessa.
Mar. 14	Brest Treaty ratified at Moscow.
Mar. 24	Bapaume and Péronne lost.
April 5	Allied Landing at Vladivostok.
April 11	Armentieres lost.
April 13	Turks occupied Batum.
April 14	General Foch, Allied Generalissimo.
April 15	Bailleul lost.
April 18	Lord Milner War Secretary.
April 22	Naval Raid on Zeebrugge and Ostend.
April 26	Kemmel Hill lost.
April 27	Turks occupied Kars.
May 1	Germans at Sebastopol.
May 9	Second Raid on Ostend.
May 29	Soissons lost; Rheims held.
May 31	Germans reached Marne.
June 9	New German Assault.
June 15	Austrian Offensive in Italy.
June 23	Great Austrian Defeat.
July 2	1,000,000 Americans shipped to France.
July 15	Third German Offensive; Second Marne Battle begun.
July 16	Ex-Tsar shot at Ekaterinburg.
July 18	General Foch's counter-attack.
July 20	Germans recrossed the Marne.
Aug. 2	Soissons recovered.
Aug. 8	British attack at Amiens successful.
Aug. 29	Bapaume and Noyon regained.
Sept. 1	Péronne recovered.
Sept. 2	The Drocourt-Quéant line breached.
Sept. 12	American attack at St. Mihiel.
Sept. 15	Austrian Peace Note.
Sept. 25	Bulgaria proposed Armistice.
Sept. 27	Hindenburg line broken.
Sept. 29	Bulgaria surrendered.
Sept. 30	Fall of Damascus.
Sept. 30	Chancellor Hertling resigns.
Oct. 1	St. Quentin regained.
Oct. 4	Abdication of King Ferdinand.
Oct. 9	Cambrai regained.
Oct. 10	British took Le Cateau.
Oct. 13	French recovered Laon.
Oct. 14	British troops at Irkutsk.
Oct. 15	British in Homs.
Oct. 17	Ostend, Lille, Douai regained.
Oct. 19	Bruges reoccupied.
Oct. 20	Belgian Coast clear.
Oct. 25	Ludendorff resigned.
Oct. 26	Aleppo fell to the Allies.
Oct. 27	Austria sued for Peace.
Oct. 28	Italians crossed Piave.
Oct. 29	Serbians reached the Danube.
Oct. 30	Turkey granted Armistice.
Nov. 1	The Versailles Conference opened.
Nov. 2	British at Valenciennes.
Nov. 3	Austrian Surrender; Kiel Mutiny.
Nov. 4	Versailles Armistice Agreement.

1918

Nov. 5 Full Powers for Marshal Foch; Mr. Wilson's Last Note to Germany.
Nov. 6 Americans reached Sedan.
Nov. 7 Bavarian Republic Proclaimed.
Nov. 9. Foch received German Envoys.
Nov. 9 Chancellor Prince Max resigned.
Nov. 9 Berlin Revolution.
Nov. 10 Kaiser's flight to Holland; British at Mons.
Nov. 11 Armistice terms accepted by Germany.

A Story of Five Cities

A CANADIAN EPIC OF ONE HUNDRED DAYS

By
ROBERT JOHN RENISON
Chaplain, 4th Canadian Infantry Brigade

I. Amiens, and the Turning of the Tide.
II. Arras, Zero plus Twenty-four Hours.
III. Cambrai, and the Gates of Pearl.
IV. Valenciennes, and the Promised Land.
V. Mons, and the March to the Rhine.
VI. The Invisible City, the Bivouac of the Dead.

I. AMIENS,

AND THE TURNING OF THE TIDE

THE RIVERS OF FRANCE

By H. J. M.

The rivers of France are ten score and twain,
But five are the names that we know,
The Marne, the Vesle, the Ourcq, and the Aisne,
And the Somme of the swampy flow.

The rivers of France, from source to the sea,
Are nourished by many a rill,
But these five, if ever a drought there be,
The fountain of sorrow would fill.

The rivers of France shine silvery white,
But the waters of five are red
With the richest blood in the fiercest fight
For freedom that ever was shed.

IT is difficult to realize that in 1918 we have passed through one of the shining moments of the great story of mankind, and that there are names which are emblazoned on the standards of Canada which cannot be forgotten — names which should come before our children and our children's children forever. The epic of the past year is a wonderful story, to be told by maps and history and tongues more eloquent than ours when the true perspective shall appear.

There are the names of five cities in France and Belgium, yet, strange to say, those cities seem to crystallize the greatest events of Canadian history. The five cities that stand out and shine like stars in our firmament along with Ypres, and one or two of the cities associated earlier with this war, are: Amiens, Arras, Cambrai, Valenciennes and Mons.

This chapter deals with AMIENS.

About the middle of July the whole Canadian Corps was withdrawn from the line. Its four divisions had for some months been holding the line in the region of Arras. They had not been in a general engagement since Passchendaele. It was realized that they were being kept for some particular purpose, for during the Spring, while the machine gun corps did splendid work, Canada as a whole did not take part in the general struggle along the British line; but about the middle of July the Canadian Corps was told that it was going to have a rest, and it did have about ten days.

The only way to refer to the Canadians is to speak about the single unit that you know of, and you will multiply it a hundredfold. The term "Canadian Corps" is used to describe the four Canadian divisions and their auxiliary of machine gunners and air force in contradistinction to the great lines of communication, which are not part of the striking force.

The Canadian Corps, then, returning from the line, went into billets for rest, and for the first time circumstantial rumors went abroad as to their future mission. There were some strange stories about how we were going to advance, that we would embark at a certain point and go north to the Ypres salient of such tragic yet glorious memory.

A modern battle is such a vast conception and often covers so much ground that it is difficult to give it a characteristic name that will live in history. Besides this, so many tides have ebbed and flowed along the western front during the last four years that the same names have constantly reappeared in despatches.

But there are excellent reasons for thinking that, to Canadians at least, the battle of August 8th will be known by the name of the ancient city whose cathedral Ruskin has declared to be the finest example of Gothic architecture in Europe. The name of the city, too, is associated with one of the greatest treaties of modern history.

In the last century Amiens has become one of the great railway centres of France, and the immediate result of the battle was the elimination of a dangerous spearhead pointed between the French and the British armies and the complete resumption of railway traffic in a direct line from England to Paris.

We all had felt certain that Canada would some day take part in another drive upon the German line. The memories of Vimy and Passchendaele were not dead, and when the whole Canadian Corps came out of the line we knew that the time was at hand. Our own brigade went into rest in a cluster of French villages, where the hospitable villagers made us welcome and Vin Blanc was a popular beverage. The testimony of our Lady of the Estaminet was eloquent tribute to the sobriety of Canadians. "*Les Canadiens bons soldat, petit zigzag,*" was the expression in the lingua Franca of the billets.

Suddenly one night the Canadians began to move, and for several days they saw much of the fertile plains of Picardy. One could not help noticing how admirably suited this part of France is for military operations. The whole country is tilled with laborious care. The splendid roads are lined with trees which give refreshing shade to marching troops, and the whole population of the country lives in the villages, which nestle among the trees in every valley. The French people are essentially gregarious. The village streets are generally blind whitewashed walls, perforated here and there with doors in the great barn gates. On entering the visitor steps into a quadrangle floored with manure, while all around are geese, hens and cattle. Behind the farm house the guest will find a lovely orchard garden which the passing traveller would never suspect of being there.

The bivouacs in these villages were very comfortable, and our welcome by the people was more than cordial, although every village was crowded with refugees from the northern cities.

In our last resting place before going to the front the battalion headquarters was in an estaminet where we were waited upon by a mademoiselle with an unforgetable friendly smile, which seemed to radiate equally upon all in the battalion. She was dressed in black and wore a medallion around her neck containing the portrait of her Armand —*"il est fini Monsieur a Verdun."*

The night we left was a memorable one, for within a few kilometres it seemed as if Canada had gathered from the clouds. Cavalry, artillery and infantry divisions, long separated, were now united joyfully for the great adventure.

The roads were crowded with transport and greetings passed between units from Vancouver, Hamilton and Montreal. In the early hours of the morning we passed through the suburbs of a deserted city whose venerable cathedral pile looked down like the sentinel spirit of France — battered but unbowed.

Sunday was spent in Cagny, a suburb of Amiens. There was a wonderfully solemn communion service at 5:30 in the large ruined and deserted church. The place was three inches thick with dust and the doors blown off. The images and shrines were weirdly strange. About fifty men sat in the old pews, while the chaplain celebrated a fifteen minutes service in his khaki uniform at the remains of the high altar.

The day before the battle a chaplain walked and crept about in every trench and spoke to every officer and man in his battalion. He gave them as a sermon five words on the five fingers of his hand, "The Lord is my Shepherd", and told them to hold on to the fourth finger. The day after the battle he met a boy of his brigade in the hospital dressing station, badly wounded, and when he saw him the lad lifted up his hand and held on to his fourth finger for him to see.

At daybreak the brigade entered Caché Wood. Here they slept through the day. When the last night came the line

was very near and the booming of the guns at irregular intervals and the occasional flares which lit the sky showed that the Canadians had come to a comparatively quiet front. As each unit in the Canadian Corps passed with unerring precision in the dark to its appointed position in the line, the infantry brigades passing the cavalry and artillery units on a new front, even the veriest novice could see something of the staff work of Canada's army; and we were only part of a greater organization working on one general plan. Surely in days of peace all that is best in war will be our legacy for the new world which is to be.

It was known that the Canadians would cover a front of seven thousand five hundred yards, extending, as the advance proceeded, to ten thousand yards. The second division was on the left, next to the Australians; the first division in the center, and the third division on the right, next to the French. The fourth division was in reserve. The battalions and brigades had all their appointed objectives, leap-frogging each other as their turn came. There was to be no preparatory bombardment, surprise being an element in the attack. The tanks were to lead the way. You will best appreciate the scene if given a description of what could be seen by one pair of eyes.

Our own battalion was to open the attack on one portion of the sector. The day before the men occupied the reserve trenches, our cousins, the Australians, who had held the line for some time, remained in it until the last moment, so that no knowledge of the arrival of Canadians might by any possibility reach the enemy. It had been raining for a day or two, but now the rain had ceased, and all day the men lay on the ground above the trenches sunning themselves within a few hundred yards of the front line. They spent their time in perfecting their equipment and polishing their arms. The next battalion to us could be seen lined up in long lines in a back trench waiting their turn to grind their bayonets on the grindstones.

A tour of the trenches gave one an opportunity to estimate the spirit of the men. They were all radiant and confident, and as evening drew near there were few but must have been thinking of home. In every dugout men were writing letters, and for many of them it was the last message. I heard an old sergeant say: "Boys, I would give a good deal to read the Toronto papers about next Saturday. I don't know what this show will be called, but I am sure it will be a great day in Canadian history."

The battalion was very fortunate in its commanding officer, Lt.-Col. Elmer Jones, D.S.O., who was one of the most brilliant and beloved officers in the Canadian Army, a man of wide culture, born in Brockville. At the beginning of the war he gave up his law practice in Vancouver and came over with the battalion early in 1915. A veteran of St. Eloi, the Somme and Vimy, he was a father to every man in the battalion. His influence over his officers was quite extraordinary. He called them all by their Christian names, and his humorous badinage touched the spot with unerring instinct. His last conference with his company officers was a lesson in the power of personality. He sat on a couch in the dugout with hand and leg bandaged, for he had not recovered from a painful accident of the week before, and in quiet tones gave each one his final instructions. His confidence in them and their affectionate respect for him were beautiful to behold. As they left he said, "Good-bye, boys, and God bless you." Several times in the last three days he repeated to himself John McCrae's "In Flanders Fields."

After dark, as the Canadians took their positions at the jumping-off point, the whole country seemed alive with ghostly figures. In the last few hours guns were drawn from the nearby woods and horses stood in the trenches. In the words of the sergeant-major, "The artillery always consider themselves invisible." The great question in everybody's mind was, "Does the Hun know?" He seemed

to have nervous premonitions, for the sky was constantly lighted with all kinds of flares — "every color except black," as one man put it.

An hour before zero, suddenly the Germans began a bombardment of our lines. They must have heard something, for the whole ground shook with the explosion of the shells. The platoon wit expressed the situation exactly: "He heaved over everything from his false teeth to the kitchen stove." The men lay flat on the ground while flares shot up every few moments, clearly revealing any object standing against the sky.

At 4:20, to the second, a blaze of crimson lighted the whole horizon behind us for miles. Three seconds later there was a deafening roar from hundreds of guns. The enemy's noise was instantly lost in the din; the shells screamed overhead like countless legions of destroying angels. In front the green turf was churned by an invisible harrow. It was impossible to distinguish the sound of the individual guns, but the sensation rather resembled the throbbing of an engine built to drive a planet in its course.

With one accord, along the whole line, the men leaped on the parapet and "went over the top." The company officers, with synchronized watches and compasses, led their men as if on parade. Stories of the first moments came to us from other sectors. The Fifteenth were led over by their pipe band, and in another place the tank "Dominion" led the procession with a piper skirling from its top. The tanks looked like prehistoric monsters as they lumbered over the trenches into the mist with their noses to the ground on the trail of machine-gun nests.

As wave after wave advanced the Colonel sat in the trench sending messages to brigade headquarters that all was well. Finally he disconnected his wire and, lame as he was, followed his battalion into the haze, now made sulphurous by the smoke of the guns.

After passing over the German trenches the dead and wounded began to appear, the Boche much more numerous than our own. There were evidences of many hand-to-hand conflicts in which the personal superiority of the Canadian was evident. Within a mile the prisoners began to appear, running unarmed from shell-hole to shell-hole shouting "Kamerad" as they lifted both hands to any approaching soldier. The conquering spirit was surely with the Canadians that day. The Twenty-first would take no denial. The mist over the cornfields caused some of the tanks to overlook the machine-gun posts which were dotted everywhere. The result was that there were numerous instances of personal gallantry. Two men — Fenwick and McPhee — with a Lewis gun, after their party was broken up, made a business of capturing machine guns; one man handled the gun and the other carried several spare drums of ammunition, and thus they rushed post after post. When the battalion captured Marcel Cave (with due respect to the correspondent who credits it to the Australians), Fenwick and McPhee were seen with their helmets askew loaded with souvenirs and, fortified with Hun refreshment, simply "eating up the town," the very personification of Canada's conquering spirit. Every man was loaded with all kinds of trophies which symbolized, not material gain, but the victory of the spirit.

The Colonel was hit with a machine-gun bullet about a mile from the town. The wound was mortal and he died in five minutes without a word. He was truly a perfect gentle knight and a most gallant gentleman. He was carried out shoulder high by four prisoners, two of them officers, who were informed by the Colonel's batman that they had never performed a more honorable task.

The return was a sight for a great painter. The dead and wounded lay thick upon the ground, where already the stretcher-bearers were hurrying to the sign of the rifle stuck by a bayonet into the sod with the cap perched on

the butt. Streams of dejected prisoners came through the fields and soon were set to work carrying out the wounded. The horse artillery had already galloped forward, and one could not help admiring the glorious animals, which stood unmoved by their blazing guns while many of their number lay dying all around.

As the sun rose victoriously over the mist, the long lines of cavalry were seen advancing. They cantered by, squadron after squadron, for the moment for which they had waited had come and they were about to write a new chapter in the military history of our time. The gleaming lances of the Seventeenth Lancers slanted to the east of Caché Wood, and the Inniskilling Dragoons added a historic touch to the epic of the day. The roads as if by magic were already marked "Walking wounded this way" or "Lorries only," while traffic managers stood at crossings which three hours before were within the German lines and answered questions with perfect omniscience.

Our path lay through the ruins of Villers Brettoneux, a large town captured by the Australians some weeks before. Here one could appreciate the complete desolation caused by modern heavy artillery. Already the roads were crowded with all the conglomerate traffic of an advancing army. Nothing seemed to have been forgotten. Men ten miles beyond the German trenches received their letters from home that very night.

At the advanced dressing-station the incoming wounded were already being cared for with tenderness and skill. Some of the finest medical skill in the world is to be found in the C.A.M.C., whose staff worked night and day and with a devotion beyond all praise. For the following days at every dressing-station and camp on every road everything was wide open. The Y.M.C.A., the Chaplain Service and the Red Cross all worked together. Their personnel and material were pooled. No wounded man or tired driver went empty away. Coffee stalls ran day and night while

the evacuation continued. Without these services much of the work done would have been quite impossible.

We buried the Colonel in a little British cemetery on the main road, in an eastern suburb of the city which he had helped to deliver. The evening sun went down over the glorious pile of the cathedral, only a mile away. When a few days later a great thanksgiving service was held there for the deliverance of the city, his spirit must have felt the reward of duty done for France, for Canada and mankind. A rough oak cross made from a shovel handle marks the grave, with the silver identification disc from his wrist as his temporary epitaph.

At three o'clock on the first afternoon there were two thousand prisoners in a single wire cage. They were petrified with surprise. A German officer told me that it was impossible that we should be Canadians — "We have the most certain information from our Intelligence Department that the Canadians are in Belgium."

They are an unholy mixture. Individually they seem very quiet, docile and most sentimental. On all occasions they are anxious to show the photographs of their women folk, and yet a Princess Pat, whose battalion suffered in a counter-attack two days later, told of our wounded who were stabbed as they hung in the barbed wire.

The sentimental Hun is a psychological mystery — we must let it go at that.

There is a beautiful deserted chateau, standing in noble grounds shaded with stately trees, which, however glorious its history, never played such a distinguished role or sheltered such a splendid gathering as on a certain August day in this year of its desertion.

Early in the morning the G.O.C. of the Canadian Corps might have been seen riding past the gates, followed by his banner and his orderlies, on his way to the front. In the early afternoon we saw him riding over the battlefield, a soldierly figure of Canada in action as he rode reso-

lutely forward. The great rooms of the chateau were fitted with operating tables, while all the grounds were covered with stretchers of the wounded. The walking cases, dusty, tired and blood-stained, but full of fight and enthusiasm, came by, as the hours passed, in a great procession. Their spirit was wonderful. As for the more seriously wounded, the sight was the greatest lesson that many a chaplain ever learned.

The heroism and resignation of the average man — the greatest sermon I ever hope to hear — was preached to me that day. Some, of course, were terribly wounded, but not many, for as they lay there, waiting their turn, there was not one complaint. I saw one hero with his head bandaged, all except a bright blue eye, who held a cigarette at a jaunty angle from a hole in the bandage. Another man, badly wounded in both legs, lay on a stretcher sound asleep, with an arm around his little dog, that slept beside him. They had gone over the top together that morning. Another happy warrior, badly gassed, lay weak but smiling, with his haversack full of "souvenirs." He had captured a battalion headquarters, including a major, two captains and a couple of subalterns — he said he had enough compasses and glasses for all his girls, and he had four iron crosses.

As the later wounded came in the magnitude of the victory became more apparent. As the men lay in their suffering they refused to talk of themselves, but only of their comrades at the front and Canada. "What would I not give to be at home to-night when the news comes in," was the cry of more than one who earned his rest.

Among the very happiest of all were the very moderately wounded men who had a certain "Blighty". They had done their part and now looked forward to a rest. On the whole, considering the magnitude of the operation, the casualties were remarkably light and the proportion of killed very small. The preparations had been well made, and the team work of the various branches of the Corps

was perfect. We gladly recognize that we are part of a great organization — the advance of the French towards Lassigny, on our right, and the indomitable work of the Australians on our left was a matter of pride and congratulation. But this is a story of Canada's part in the struggle. Already 9,000 prisoners and 150 guns had been captured. Our line had advanced nearly fifteen miles. Altogether it will live as one of the greatest achievements of the Canadian Army. And this had been accomplished by our own men, who, four years ago, never dreamt that Canada would write her name in letters of gold on the portals of one of the most ancient shrines of Christian civilization.

On the fifth day Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur W. Currie, commanding the Canadians, wrote the following message, in which he outlined briefly what had been accomplished, thanked all those under his command, and gave the reasons for the success. This message was later published in a Special Order:

"The first stage of this battle of Amiens is over, and one of the most successful operations conducted by the Allied Armies since the war began is now a matter of history.

"The Canadian Corps has every right to feel more than proud of the part it played. To move the Corps from the Arras front and in less than a week launch it in battle so many miles distant was in itself a splendid performance. Yet the splendor of that performance pales into insignificance when compared with what has been accomplished since zero hour on August 8th.

"On that date the Canadian Corps, to which was attached the Third Cavalry Division, the Fourth Tank Brigade, and the Fifth Squadron R. A. F., attacked on a front of 7,500 yards. After a penetration of 22,000 yards, the line to-night rests on a 10,000 yard frontage. Sixteen German divisions have been identified, of which four have been completely routed. Nearly 150 guns have been captured,

while over 1,000 machine guns have fallen into our hands. Ten thousand prisoners have passed through our cages and casualty clearing stations, a number greatly in excess of our total casualties. Twenty-five towns and villages have been rescued from the clutch of the invaders, the Paris-Amiens Railway has been freed from interference, and the danger of dividing the French and British armies has been dissipated.

"Canada has always placed the most implicit confidence in her Army. How nobly has that confidence been justified, and with what pride has the story of your gallant success been read in the homeland! This magnificent victory has been won because your training was good, your discipline was good, your leadership was good. Given these three, success must always come.

"From the depths of a very full heart I wish to thank all staffs and services, the infantry, the artillery, the cavalry, the engineers, the machine-gunners, the independent force, consisting of the motor machine-gun brigade and the cyclists, the tank battalions, the R. A. F., the medical services, the army service corps, the ordnance corps, the veterinary services, the chaplain services, for their splendid support and co-operation, and to congratulate you all on the wonderful success achieved. Let us remember our gallant dead, whose spirit shall ever be with us, inspiring us to nobler effort; and when the call again comes, be it soon or otherwise, I know the same measure of success will be yours."

The following story is only one of many which came to the notice of the world:

"A lieutenant of a celebrated French Canadian battalion, since dead, was recommended for the V. C. in the following terms:

"For most conspicuous gallantry and almost superhuman devotion to duty, leading a company for two days with absolute fearlessness and extraordinary ability and initiative. On August 9th his company's left flank was held up

by an enemy machine-gun. He rushed and captured the machine-gun personally, killing two of the enemy crew. Whilst doing this he was wounded in the thigh, but refused to be evacuated. Later the same day his company was held up by heavy fire from a machine-gun nest. He personally organized a party of two platoons, and rushed straight for the machine-gun nest, where 150 Germans and fifteen machine-guns were captured, the lieutenant personally killing five Germans and being wounded a second time, now in the shoulder, but he again refused to be evacuated.

"In the evening he saw a field-gun firing on his men over open sights. He organized and led a rushing party towards the gun, and after progressing about 600 yards, he was seriously wounded in the abdomen. In spite of this third wound, he continued to advance some 200 yards more, when he fell unconscious from exhaustion and loss of blood. His wonderful example throughout the day fired his men with an enthusiasm and fury which largely contributed towards the battalion's notable achievements that day."

One thing we must believe is that deep down in every man there is a well of nobility which in times past we have never appreciated. The thing that war has done has been to bring out that quality in man. The reproach of the Church is that this chord has never been touched. It is religion. It is of the very essence of things. The name of Christ Himself is the Name that every man reverences. There are a great many who do not know Him, but if they knew Christ as He is, they would want to meet the deep sympathetic heart of Him who is the Saviour of the world. I hope the Churches of the world will yet touch that deep well of religion in the average man. It was not a new discovery to know how interesting the ordinary man is, but I think no one could possibly realize the wealth of splendor there is in the average boy as seen in France during the last summer.

A special word to those who will look upon France as a sacred place. Those who have given their lives (the very finest, noblest and best of civilization) over there, I cannot but think that these, who have given their all, have accomplished more than many an older man here. The completeness of any life is not to be measured by length of years. Few of those who are now living, however long and distinguished may be the career before them, will contribute as much to their country and generation as the young men who finished their work before noon and went to sleep on the Roye Road on the Day of the Turning of the Tide.

II. ARRAS

Zero Plus Twenty-four Hours

"Bear me to the heart of France,
Is the longing of the Shield —
Tell thy name, thou trembling Field,
Field of death, where'er thou be,
Groan thou with our victory!"

— Wordsworth.

The events of the past year have been so great, they have been fraught with so many consequences in the lives of all of us who are members of society in this generation, and the influence of the story when it becomes known, as it will be in years to come, will have so much power in the lives of those who are but children today, that it is only right that we should think upon "what great things God hath done for us." I shall tell you a plain, unvarnished tale, simply the diary of a few days.

I have said that the advance could be summed up, so far as Canada is concerned, around the unique names of five great cities. I spoke of Amiens, the turning of the tide. I want now to tell you of Arras, a name which for the last four years has been heard of wherever the English tongue has been spoken. It is one of those interesting, quaint and beautiful places in the northern part of France, and, more than any other city in the war zone, perhaps, has suffered from the ravages and terrors of war. There used to be in the centre of the city a beautiful cathedral, one of the glories of northern France, and to-day there are only a heap of stones and a few ashes left,— there are a few thousands of tons of what stood as granite walls at one time, and a few fragments of carving that came from the high altar, some traces of the foundation, and a few steps, and the great square where the cathedral once stood today looks like something you might find among the ruins of Babylon.

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

To This Canadian Infantry, 42nd Battalion, is Due the Credit of Entering the City of Mons in 1918

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Gen. Sir. Arthur Currie is Here Shown in the Square at Mons on Nov. 11, the Morning of the Armistice Signing, Taking the Salute. On His Left is the General Commanding the British Division That Entered the City

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

General Currie at a Memorial Service to Men Who Fell During Hill 70 Advance

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

The Funeral of a Canadian Within the Shelling Area. Note the Padre is Wearing His Hat

It never will be rebuilt, because more than a year ago there was a notice posted by the French Government that whatever the issue of the war, the cathedral of Arras would be treasured just as the war left it, as a memorial to the future ages. Day after day for two years the high velocity shells fell on the spot.

There was also the railway station, the foundations of which were shelled from Douai, thirty kilometres away. It is now a mass of ruins. But the city itself was almost symbolical of France. It was never captured, but stands as the high-water mark of German invasion. Before the advance you could look out and, only a short distance away, see the line that marked the border between civilization and barbarism. At Neuville Vitasse, about five miles away, there is not one stone standing upon another where there was once a famous health resort. I walked for two hours to see if any sign was there that looked like a building, but besides the fragments of pavement nothing remains. But Arras is a symbol, and always will be in the minds of those who have been there, a type of hope and glory as well as of sorrow and tragedy unspeakable.

The story of the first phase of the battle of Arras has already been told, and certainly its results are known to anyone who studies the war maps of the Western Front. So much has been said about the cosmic nature of this duel, where the clink of blades is the clash of armies and a riposte the lunge of many divisions, that one sometimes may forget that the atoms in the tempered blade are living men. It should require no apology to turn aside from the fascinating study of the Pyramids to look in imagination at the men who are building them.

A veteran of Vimy, who attended the prorogation of Parliament in Ottawa, wrote to his chum over here that the statesmen of Canada, after their spell in the trenches, were going into rest-billets for the rest of the year. Following this good example we suddenly prorogued the debate at

Amiens, and by a magic wand (no matter how) went into billets for two days. It was glorious while it lasted. The village was an idyll of rural France, the barns were whitewashed, and the fields were laden with sheaves of golden corn. There was an estaminet for each company, and the hens laid incessantly for the troops. The president of the mess produced marvellous menus every three hours. In place of the Gotha, the drone of the bees lulled the R. S. M. to sleep. Far off seemed desolation and the weary road. It was the land of the lotus-eaters, "where it always seemed afternoon." Just as the Beau Brummel of the battalion had sent his washing out (not before it was needed), with the instructions "Toute suite," the ominous mandate went forth, "Prepare to move at an hour's notice," and soon afterwards we were in columns of fours.

"Good-byee, don't cryee,
There's a silver lining in the skyee,
If a nine-point-two
Gets a line on you,
It's a case of napoo — Good-Byee!"

The next evening the descending sun illumined some old familiar ruins on a hill not unknown to Canadians of the original division. Someone said, "We are to finish our picnic in the Hindenburg line" — and so it proved.

While a modern battle, by the thunderbolt which man has forged for himself, reaches an imaginative grandeur undreamed of in the past, it must be confessed that the romantic side has gone. The steel helmet has slain the bearskin busby.

A hundred years ago the Colonel, resplendent in scarlet and gold, crowned like Jove, sat upon his coal-black charger on the crest of a hill. As he pointed with sword at the distant enemy, well out of musket range, full three hundred yards away, the rising sun gleamed on the medals of Salamanca and Badajoz upon his breast. His men, as they rammed home their bullets, knew that the self-same sun, before it set, would see the fate of an empire settled and

victory won "for England, home and beauty." To-night his great-grandson commands a Canadian battalion on the eve of another battle. You will not find him on yonder hill, neither can his men be seen standing firmly against the sky-line.

There is a dingy cellar, dug with infinite labor by the Hun in his impregnable line, from which he has retired for "strategic reasons." He is about to make a further retirement in the same direction, but does not know it yet. The dugout is dimly lighted with wax candles. A table in the center is covered with maps, over which a couple of unshaven youths are earnestly wrangling. The adjutant, a young man with an authoritative manner, dictates to a stenographer (not a lady), who hammers his typewriter with as much nonchalance as if he were sitting upon a swivel-chair instead of a petrol tin. The buzzing of a telephone reveals a signaller in the corner, who constantly repeats messages from nowhere. Runners come and go every minute of the night.

Recumbent figures adorn the bunks along the tunnel. The gas officer is engaged in a reconnaisance on his shirt. The commanding officer reclines upon the States couch, made from an ammunition box and bull-proof fence wire. His tunic, which has a ribbon or two not unknown to fame, is rolled into a ball to make a pillow, and he is supposed to be asleep. But nothing escapes him. In the midst of apparently profound slumber he asks, "Have the wire-cutters come up yet?" and five minutes later says, "Get me Brigade." He has time in the next quarter of an hour to interview a certain "Toc Emma" and discuss some interesting gossip about the liaison of tanks. The atmosphere is gradually permeated with the aroma of supper, which the long-suffering cook, with many objurgations, is preparing on an alcohol lamp.

The four company commanders enter for their final conference with the O. C. They are muddy and stained,

and their fighting clothes show evidence of a batman's engineering skill. Three of them are subalterns, which may explain, to those who wonder what a soldier does with his pay, why fighting clothes are necessary to men who have gone over the top through uncharted barbed wire three times in a week recently. But the men themselves, as they salute the Colonel, are worth observing, for they form pictures of modern Canada. They are all young, but they have had more experience than many a full colonel of pre-war days. They all wear decorations.

The O. C. of "A" Company is a young giant with the face of a boy. Arthur May carries himself with the careless swing of an Irish D'Artagnan — the very dip of his steel helmet is all his own. He has a merry blue eye, equally dangerous in a German trench and on the Strand. His men swear by him, and no wonder. His exploits in many a raid, I am afraid, would not make Sunday reading. Everybody loves him except the Hun.

McCrimmon, who commands "B" Company, is Scotch. He is very polite and careful in his speech. You might consider him slow if you had never seen him charge a trio of field-guns which were enfilading his company at point-blank range, hold the position against all comers back to back with his sergeant, and then thoughtfully take a piece of chalk from his pocket (brought for such an emergency) and mark the guns "Captured by B Company." He wears three pips, being the only captain of the four.

Harry Dean is English. You could never mistake him for anything else. Short and sturdy, with a strong, deeply-lined face, he seems built for endurance rather than speed. Somewhat inclined to take a melancholy view of life, a stranger who heard him speak of his comrades might think that he never did anything himself. He is the type of that strange English generosity, so apparent just now, that praises everyone but self, and does not do that simply because it seems inconceivable that England could ever do

less than the maximum. Dean always sees the difficulties in the objectives before, and never after, zero hour. He has been in every Canadian battle since St. Eloi, but can never manage to qualify for a separation allowance. That is a handicap which he is determined to overcome on his next leave.

"D" Company, as is fitting, is commanded by "the Count." Alexis is our paragon of Romance. Every lance-corporal on leave endeavors in vain to imitate his walk. Rumor credits him with a palace in Petrograd and a country estate in the Crimea. He is as full of temperament as a lady novelist's hero. He speaks several languages, and his English is both idiomatic and pungent. "You shoot my men?" he shouted to a "Kamerad" who had worked his machine gun to the last minute and was now clasping his captor's boots. "You shoot my men? Yes? No?" The narrator gave an ominous "click" to signify the end of the interview.

Such are the four company commanders in a typical Canadian fighting battalion. These men are the lords of their own domain, wielding with even hand the sword of Justice — the high, the middle, and the low among their subjects. Behind them all, remote, vigilant, yet seldom appealed to in matters of discipline, stands the awesome figure of the commanding officer.

"Esprit de corps" is an interesting pyschological study. Canadians are intensely proud of the British Army in France. The romantic story of the deathless deeds of the men of Mons and Suvla Bay sheds lustre over those old Imperial divisions which had traditions before Canada was born. And yet for the average Canadian our Canadian Corps is a thing apart. We admit it — we shudder to think what Marshal Foch would do without it! Again, it is admitted that the finest division in the Canadian Corps is our own — we can prove it. As for brigades, there never was more than one fighting brigade. It carries the others.

And so it goes with battalion, company, platoon. After the Battle of Amiens I saw a corporal and a dozen survivors of Sullivan's famous fighting platoon discussing the operation. One would have thought they had won the battle — and so they had. Happy is the commander, be he lieutenant or field marshal, who can use that spirit.

The conference which had much to do with the success or failure of the assault of the Drocourt-Quéant line, to say nothing of the destinies of hundreds of men, lasted for an hour, when the visitors hastened to their companions to hold a similar council with their platoon commanders and non-commissioned officers. It cannot be too widely known that the greatest modern battle is in the hands of the young platoon officers and their sergeants once that zero hour has come. On their courage, resourcefulness and tenacity depend the results, no matter how brilliant the strategy.

"Over the top" is an expression which has been thoughtlessly desecrated by civilians all over the Empire. Whether it be a Y. M. C. A. whirlwind campaign, a Red Cross dance, or a municipal bond issue, any special effort is dignified by a name which to the soldier signifies the apotheosis of war. He may have gone through months, or even years of routine warfare, but he measures all things and all men by that hour when he crouched in the trench waiting for zero. Before lies the grey mist of No Man's Land. Ere noon it will be over — the objective, Blighty, or R. I. P. The man has yet to be born whose pulse does not beat faster at the words "Over the top with the best of luck."

It is only half an hour to zero, and as the oval three-quarter moon dives into an east-bound cloud, ghostly figures are seen creeping from the trenches through the cruel wire tresses of the Calypso of No Man's Land. There is not a sound as the battalion, in perfect formation, crouches on the mark for the pistol shot. There is perfect liaison on right and left for miles.

Suddenly the drone of a German aeroplane draws near, and a moment later the staccato of machine-guns tells of an encounter right over the lines. Our airmen evidently have no intention of allowing Fritz to make a reconnaissance. A combat in the dark behind the clouds is the sort of thing that Doré would have liked to picture. The eye, the ear and the imagination all contribute colours. This particular one ended in a scene seldom witnessed, even in France. The German 'plane burst into flames and dropped from the moon like a June bug from a gas jet. Five hundred feet from the ground the wings flew off and the unfortunate victim fell like Lucifer into the Boche lines. The petrol, the flares and ammunition exploded. The whole episode made the last few minutes seem like years to the throbbing figures crouched in the woods and shell-holes along the front.

A modern *barrage* is a thing of mathematics. In all but its perpetuity it is as irresistible as the march of the Equinox. Its first herald is the scream of the heavies, fired miles behind the line and timed to land with missiles which have made a shorter journey. From the Olympus-shaking 9.2 to the rattle of machine-guns, everything is there. It creeps along minute by minute, from furlong to furlong, while in the cool of its shade the line advances.

When the last wave has gone over, the Headquarters party follows. The line of contact is already a mile away, but the Germans are now pounding our trench area in a most annoying manner. Colonel Pense, who leads the way, sets a pace like Tom Longboat. In peace times he would be considered a promising youth and might be second in command of a company in a militia regiment. He has a most unfair advantage of the rest of the section, for his stride just covers a shell-hole, while the others every minute have to do a half circumference. In passing he points out a celebrated town which for three years alternately has been the target for the batteries of both sides. "When in doubt,

strafe Neuville Vitasse," seems to have been a motto faithfully followed. Nothing but an occasional iron gate or a squared stone wall tells that houses ever stood there.

The Huns certainly heeded the apostolic injunction to "lay aside every weight," for the ground is littered with cowskin knapsacks, water-bottles, and rifles, while great-coats are seen everywhere. But they never drop their steel helmets until the last moment.

As the sun came up a wide ravine on the right gave a wonderful view of the advancing battalions on the other side. For a few minutes it looked like the picture of a pitched battle from the Franco-Prussian War. Then three tanks hit the line, going over machine-gun posts, and the wave passed on.

There is a certain "sub" who has some of the tendencies of Joab, the son of Zeruiah. He carries two revolvers and a Celtic temperament. His sole German vocabulary is "Heraus mit dir." At the first reserve trench a long line of "Kamerads" appears, like Agag, "walking delicately." Disdaining to send an escort with them, he waves them to the rear. The only prisoners in the first two miles who did not have their hands up were four who had their hands in the pockets of their baggy trousers, and this was because they had been relieved of their "Gott mit uns" belts.

The sub's auburn head was a very oriflamme in the first wave of the battle. His little French-Canadian batman followed him like a shadow, and was in every shell-hole a step behind him as he led his company against the machine-guns. When the trench was captured, they investigated dug-outs with a Mills bomb and "Heraus mit dir" (out with you). "Pardon, kamerad," was the response, and a platoon of Germans filed up the steps. All encounters were not so peaceful, for the machine-gunners fought with desperation. In one melée one might have heard a cool voice, "Put on your helmet, Heinie; I want to see whether it is bullet-proof." So they went from trench to trench, com-

pany vying with company and platoon with platoon for pride of place.

Within two hours Battalion Headquarters were established three miles within the German Headquarters, and the Colonel was calmly carrying on his administrative work. The red-banded runners attached to Headquarters were fearlessly carrying messages under heavy shell fire. These men are among the best in all that goes to make an ideal soldier. In certain stages of an offensive operation their work is of priceless value. They are absolutely oblivious to personal danger.

The M. O., leaving the work in the rear for the dressing-station, has established a regimental aid post in the same trench. His first case was an amusing one. He had issued orders that no German wounded should be brought until our own men were cared for. As he sat with an anti-tank gun on his knee, wondering how big a hole it would make, a Prussian officer appeared with his face streaming with blood. The doctor leaped out of the trench and began to dress the wound. He was promptly hit in the arm by two pieces of flying shrapnel. A look of injured innocence came over his face, and when he came to himself he began swearing with great unction. The German disappeared in the storm, but the medical officer refused to leave, and continued ministering to the long stream of wounded and dying during the day.

One of the stretcher-bearers was a young lad just out from Canada. It was his first battle. He was so short that one corner of the stretcher drooped, so a stalwart Heine was pressed into service, and the boy was instructed to plant a flag and act as guide to the bearers. At once the post became the most unhealthy spot in the area; shells dropped all around. The little chap quietly came close to the doctor and said, "Doc, I am going to stay near you, for I think I will need you" — and he did!

I hope that in the future the national paintings that are secured to commemorate this war will not omit its terrible side. There are many people who object to reality. But it would be an insult and desecration to those who have suffered and died if Canadian records do not show war as it is. Victories must be paid for, and although, comparatively speaking, the Canadian casualties were few, they were enough. Thank God for the manhood of those boys who passed through on their way to hospital!

There was one, a man of twenty-nine, who had risen from the ranks to command a platoon. He was the life of the mess. Wherever the boys gathered in the evening his trained tenor voice led the song. To hear him lead the "Miserere" chorus told you that he had a poet's soul. When all the officers of his company were casualties he carried on, and his cheery voice over the telephone reassured his commanding officer. He was hit while trying to reach a wounded comrade, and was carried out to die in a casualty clearing station.

Another man, Dobson of Paisley, whose leg was shattered with a shell, completed the amputation with his own jack-knife, and dressed his own wound. He thought his other foot was gone, but when the doctor told him that it was only broken, he said, "I'm glad; that's Jake-a-loo."

When the news began to crystallize it became certain that Canada again had not failed. In the following days the work was completed which had been so auspiciously begun. Before they rested, the Canadian Corps had pierced the Wotan line and looked down upon the Canal du Nord.

Later in the opening day of the attack the four company officers gathered to tell their story. Three of them were seriously, but not dangerously wounded. They were full of praises for their men. One may pause here to pay a tribute to the private soldier in this and every war — the cheerful, fed-up, fighting buck private, whose character makes the dreams of the commanding officer come true. As a matter

of sober fact, decorations can only be by decimation; for every one that is gazetted, ten are earned.

Art May and his company were supposed to be in support, but it is a theory of his that the best support is in front, and he reached his objective along with the others. He was on the point of capturing "a little town" for extra measure when he was shot through the shoulder by a sniper. His helmet had the same tilt and his eye the same sparkle as before. The "Grand Duke" was wounded early in the day, but he led his company to their resting place before he admitted it. Dean, cool and reliable, had not time to get wounded. He went over the top twice in the next three days.

Everyone admitted that it had been "B" Company's day. Mac came in minus a big toe, and looking twenty years older. He said that things had not been "very rosy" at times. He had arrived in his trench on schedule time. His first action was to take the sign post and send it to Headquarters. A pigeon — another forethought — carried the good news to Division. But before Mac could settle down there was work to be done. His flank was unprotected, and three German machine-guns enfiladed the trench. "They were giving some trouble," he said, "until they stopped." On being asked why they stopped he admitted that he had to stop them, which was done as narrated earlier in this story. "Then there was the clearing of the trench on the flank." This was not done with shovels and a fatigue party. A sergeant and a signaller volunteered as No. 1 and No. 2 bayonets. They went ahead and Mac followed with a haversack full of bombs, tossing around the corners, then following up No. 1 and No. 2 bayonets, "and helped the Heinies over the parapet right and left."

The quartermaster and the transport officer have come into their own in this war. Perhaps there is no military department which has won such unanimous approval as the marvellous system which unfailingly supplies the trenches with the finest food of the allied world. During an advance

the daily journey of the transport train is an Odyssey of adventure. When the Hun retreats he shells the roads and water supply, and mines the paths if he has time, much in the same spirit as a small boy chased out of an orchard throws stones at the farmer over the fence. Young Bredin, the transport officer, came into the dug-out smiling to-night with mail only seventeen days from Canada. He detected two mines on the way up and serpentined his column through a harassing fire of shells. About 3 A. M. one of the officers, lying in his bunk, dreamed of having his name spelt out by the signaller at the wire. A moment later a pink slip was placed in his hand and he read: "A boy — all well." War has many aspects.

One more story and I have done. There were some who did not reach the line and who did not come back. In a shell-hole on the battlefield they found one of the men of the battalion dead. Pinned to his tunic was the following letter, which had been written after he had been wounded:

AUGUST 26th, Shell Hole 999.

To whom it may concern:

If you find this on my body, please write to the address on the back and tell them that I have stopped a south-bound German bullet, and you guess I have settled down. Be sure and write, for this is a dead soldier's last wish.

Write to

MRS. GEORGE A. BRIGGS,
Gouverneur, N. Y., U. S. A.
(Sgd.) E. E. SPEARANCE, Private.

No comment is necessary. In the words of the Colonel, "They don't make them any better than that."

About the "church over there," I have no wonderful testimony concerning a great outcry of the men for something they have never wanted before. I do feel with all my soul that deep down in every man there is something that is crying for God, and the things that divide the Churches here all melt away in the great furnace. The

Y. M. C. A. carried on in co-operation with the Chaplains' Service. During the offensive one could get anything he wanted in any of the canteens, the Chaplains' Service, Salvation Army, or Red Cross, and among the workers there was nothing but noble emulation in service. The ordinary man does know that a great deal of religious feeling has been behind the spirit of the gifts that have been sent from Canada overseas.

Just before the battle of Arras there was a church service. The men did not have to wear their coats. It was a quiet place there, and there was not likely to be any shelling. It was quite voluntary, but a great many came there, the Colonel being among them. They sat around on the ground. The most popular hymn of all was "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross." Then we had a communion service, very informal. We used the tail-board of an ammunition wagon for a communion-table, and I told them it might be the last chance some of them would have and I would be very glad if any who wanted to would stay for communion. One hundred and thirty-seven remained. They knelt there on the ground and I walked up and down between the lines, and it was very hard to say the words sometimes, because there was a spirituality there that is not always to be found even in the cloistered cathedrals. God was surely there.

In two days they buried over 500 men of our division over the whole field, and it was a wonderful thing to take part in that service, to see men standing there looking intently and joining in the short Committal. There was a feeling of immortality such as I had never known before. It seems that Heaven has been brought nearer to us than ever. We used to think of it as something for the sick and aged, but I think we realize now that it is the young and the strong who are there. The other world has been brought nearer to us and our hearts seem to go up to the great truth of the Resurrection which Jesus taught when He lived beside the Syrian sea.

III. CAMBRAI

And the Gates of Pearl

"Those who with fame eternal their own dear land endowed
Took on them as a mantle the shade of death's dark cloud;
Yet dying thus they died not, on whom is glory shed
By virtue which exalts them above all other dead."

Sir J. Rennel Rodd's translation of Simonides' epitaph on the Platean dead at Marathon.

The previous chapters describe two great battles — that of Amiens, which began on August 8th, and the Battle of Arras, which began on August 26th. On the first of September the Hindenburg line was pierced, and then it was that the First and Second Divisions of Canadians, which had borne the foremost part in the first two battles, went from the line for a short rest, to be relieved by the Third and Fourth. It was fortunate that during the whole of the year the resources of Canada were so fully given to support the Corps at the front, because the work that was accomplished could never have been done were it not for the fact that there were practically two Canadian Corps. In many a regiment and many a battle, thirty, forty and fifty per cent were casualties in a single day, and reinforcements would come so rapidly that in two days the battalion again would be in full strength. It is only right that those at home should know that much of the success that came to Canada last year was due to the stream of reserves in the months of August, September and October.

This massive fortification of the Quéant-Drocourt Switch, which had taken two years to build, with catacombs allowing men to pass safely along the front, was completely overrun and the Germans driven across the Canal du Nord. This canal was partly artificial and partly natural. It was in a deep gully leading to a swamp, and it was possible through a river system to flood the whole country, and the

Germans announced this was their intention. Early in September they were across the Canal du Nord and the Canadians were holding the dividing line. Two of the divisions were at rest for several days, and they went back to the villages beyond Arras, which were now comparatively quiet, and there had the luxury of a bath and a real sleep, with no work to do for three or four days. But they were all back again in the line in about two weeks from the time they left. It took five or six days to reach Wanquentin and four days to come back.

Before the battle of Cambrai began, our division held the line for two weeks, because the next attack was to be opened by the Fourth Division. Once more I think I see the long line of observation balloons tethered to the ground. The men call them sausages; monstrous things to behold, about 2,000 feet above, with a cable connected to the ground and two men occupying them, who from morning until night are observing what can be seen in the enemy lines. There are twelve to fourteen of these in view, two miles apart, right along the line. The life of these observers is not an altogether happy one, for they are the target for high explosive artists from the other side, and it is a game of guess-work between the gunners and the balloon. Sometimes you might see an aeroplane diving from an innocent cloud and making a dash across the salient at the helpless thing. A rattle of tracer bullets and the bag would burst in flames, the men escaping in parachutes from the fire. One did not hear all of the truth as to certain military experiments. I have often thought that some of the stories told about the triumphant success of one side or the other hardly did justice to the opposition. One day I saw eight observation balloons brought down, and this means that sixteen men had to jump for life. It is said that these were allowed two weeks leave in England. They certainly deserved it, and no one grudged it to them.

I am quite certain that the true spiritual history of the tanks has yet to be written. At Amiens and Arras they did incalculable service, but at a cost which many of us feel quite positive has not reached the consciousness of the public. On the ridge of hills behind Cagnicourt I counted five within a mile just through the last fortifications of the Hindenburg line. They were "napoo." Like living things, the monsters had reached their objective and died in their tracks. The Germans had cunningly placed artillery to pierce them, while in every trench there were elephant guns with specially constructed bullets of chilled steel.

When a tank was pierced, very often the whole crew were burned to death in an instant. There was one of those burned out tanks which will ever haunt the dreams of those who saw it. Inside, the figure of the driver, burned to a cinder, sat upright, the charred bones of the fingers still grasping the wheel. The steel helmet sat on the skull. The spiral of the puttees was still discernible on the legs. "Faithful unto death" might have been the title of the picture. The men who manned the tanks last summer were the bravest of the brave.

A sacred picture in that desolate land: A little way to the left of Cagnicourt there was a place known as Dominion Cemetery. It was my privilege to officiate there many times. There are rows upon rows of little wooden crosses there, and many funerals were held every day, even while we were holding the line. Those graves are well cared for, and will be looked after specially by the French authorities. The cemetery is marked out into plots, rows and numbers, so that all are identified. It is possible to know without the slightest doubt where any particular man is buried. The French Government will do all that their pride in and love for Canada will impel to make these sacred places in the land of France "a portion of a foreign soil that is forever England." There were no atheists by those shallow graves.

The men, whatever they think of the Church, believe in God. They have seen hell and cannot doubt what heaven is.

It may be interesting for you to know that even holding the line means something else besides rest. It means, for the men during active service conditions, cold food all the time. The food must be cooked six or seven miles behind the lines and sent up after that. The tea is boiled behind the lines and sent up cold in petrol tins. From the 6th of August until Cambrai there was not a blanket in the whole Canadian Corps. It is cold in northern France in October.

There is nothing that hurt the men more than to see misguided references to their morals in the home papers. They themselves are so proud of Canada and their people at home that it seemed cruel to think that because they were over there their people could think that they were necessarily degenerating. To read some of the papers it would seem the men lived on rum. The only time they got it was just before going into action, and it was very little even then. By all means abolish rum, but before you do so abolish war. It is typical Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy to send boys to do the devil's work with a placid acceptance of all that the abnormal thing means and then become passionately zealous over an infinitely less important matter. Take men accustomed to comforts and send them into a lousy trench where it is cold and wet, put them under shell-fire, from which every human impulse recoils, for war is a beastly thing,— every human instinct cries, "Go back!" and only the spirit cries "Go on!" Under these conditions let the reformer who undergoes a major operation without an anaesthetic throw the first stone. The men have been too busy and too hard worked to be touched by the dangers of drunkenness and some other things that caused anxiety at home. God bless the field comforts! Many a woman knitting socks has not realized that her pair of socks would be carried up to the front line with two or three hundred other pairs to comfort the feet of men chilled to the marrow,

because their socks were wet and saturated with clay. The gift itself brought the aroma of the fireside and reminded them of home.

The battle of Cambrai was the Canadians' third show of the season. It was their most intense and fierce battle of the whole year, because it was the last real stand of the Germans. Things had become desperate with them. The hundred days will possibly be looked upon and noted by the historian of the future as one of the turning points of human history. The changed aspect of the World War had been not less than miraculous. It must be admitted that the sight from the hilltop of the plains of victory had revealed a new facet in the British character. To judge from the newspapers and from the reports of men returned from leave, it would almost seem that the average person at home had forgotten that even victorious war is an awful thing. During the dark days last Spring the English character revealed itself at its highest and best. Never in the long story of our Island Empire was the coolness and tenacity of purpose which the world knows to be our most characteristic virtue more searchingly tested and more splendidly proved. The long series of victories since the 18th of July had brought back the golden age of Pitt's first administration, described by Horace Walpole, when men asked every morning what new victory was to be celebrated.

Ever since we dug ourselves in near the Nord Canal, after rolling up the five strong trench systems between there and Neuville Vitasse in the series of great engagements which commenced on August 26th, the various staffs had been at work on their plans for the attack towards Cambrai. No detail was overlooked. It was known that the enemy intended to defend his position at all costs if possible. The task confronting our artillery was an extremely difficult one. The barrage had first to be laid along a narrow frontage, then to widen at every lift. The barrage map for the battle offers an interesting picture to anyone who knows

anything about artillery work. Elaborate calculations in time and range had to be made for each gun, for each battery, for each group, then for all as a whole.

On the night of September 26th the engineers seemed to lose all sense of precaution, for they brought up pontoons along the Wancourt road, which were to be used to bridge the waters of the canal, and these were piled beyond the front line on the night before the attack began. A little show was put on with a great deal of noise north of the Scarpe for the purpose of attracting the attention of the enemy to that point of line, away from the destined scene of the big operation. In this it was entirely successful.

That night of September 26th was one of uncanny quiet along the section of our front from which the storm was so soon to burst.

At 5:20 of the morning of September 27th, sharp on the minute, one of our eighteen-pounder guns barked twice. "Then the length and depth of our front broke into red and orange and violet flashes; our whole line gave tongue in a crashing roar of innumerable explosions, all blending into one terrific tide of sound, wrenching the waiting earth and quiet air from peace to furious tumult in an instant of time."

As the barrage lifted, our infantry crossed the swampy and low-lying ground between the jumping-off line and the Canal du Nord, which had been converted into a fortified stronghold. At the canal a stiff resistance was encountered. Machine-gun fire poured from every point and angle of the ditch. But the Canadians pressed forward, the Fourth Division on the right, the First, accompanied by tanks, on the left.

The Canadian artillery instituted many things in this war, and in this battle they reached a pitch of perfection they had never before realized.

On October 1st the attack was continued, and the fighting was severe and stubborn all day. Counter-attack followed

counter-attack. That day the artillery of the Canadians alone cast 7,000 tons of shells on the enemy. Masses of grey were thrown against our ever-encroaching line with a pitiable disregard of the cost. Our advance was opposed without thought of the price. The Germans knew, if we did not, that this was their last hope. The Third Division, however, made headway to the plateau beyond Tilloy, got into Neuville St. Remy, and stayed there. The Fourth finished its work at Blecourt and also took Bantigny, and in both villages repulsed several particularly bitter counter-attacks. On the left the First Division entered Abancourt.

At half-past one o'clock on the morning of October 9th, in utter darkness, the Canadians entered Cambrai. They took the garrison of the town by surprise, quickly obtained the upper hand in all the numerous instances of street encounters and house-to-house fighting, reached and occupied the Place d'Armes, and from there spread throughout the entire area. By daylight they were clear of the south-eastern edge of the city and well along the Avenue de Valenciennes; in the south-west they were established at the Paris Gate. Right in front of the Cathedral of St. Sepulchre there was a service held on the morning of that October day, when all kinds of men of all phases of Christianity worshipped together in thanksgiving to God for this great victory. Units of our Third Division pressed due east to the line of the Scheldt Canal, secured all bridge-heads as far as Eswars, and captured several villages and hundreds of prisoners. By six a. m. our engineers had spanned the canal with a pontoon bridge. In the town itself several hundred prisoners were taken. British troops on the right won to the road leading to Le Cateau. These captures loom up as more significant when it is understood that against the Corps the enemy had hurled thirteen picked divisions, representing every available reserve he had, in his desperate and vain efforts to hold up our advance. He fought with unabated fury, but at the finish of the second

round he found all of his thirteen divisions had met with the misfortune such a number might expect. Other parts of the front had been milked to supply the unlucky divisions, particularly the sectors north of the Scarpe.

I would like to quote from the order of General Currie when Cambrai was captured:

"In two months the Canadian Corps has captured more than 28,000 prisoners, 501 guns, 3,000 machine-guns, 69 towns and villages, 175 square miles of territory, and defeated decisively 47 German Divisions. Three battles have brought in these captures — Amiens, Arras, Cambrai. Three great battles have been fought and won by us in the short space of two months — three battles in which the difficulties to be overcome, the opposition to be broken, the ground to be taken, multiplied and grew continually.

"Even of greater importance than these captures stands the fact that you have wrested sixty-nine towns and villages and over one hundred and seventy-five square miles of French soil from the defiling Hun.

"In the performance of these mighty achievements all the arms and branches of the Corps have bent their purposeful energy working one for all and all for one.

"The dash and magnificent bravery of our incomparable Infantry have at all times been devotedly seconded with great skill and daring by our machine-gunners, while the Artillery lent them their powerful and never failing support. The initiative and resourcefulness displayed by the Engineers contributed materially to the depth and rapidity of our advances. The devotion of the Medical *personnel* has been, as always, worthy of every praise. The administrative services, working at all times under very great pressure and adverse conditions, surpassed their usual efficiency. The Chaplain services by their continued devotion to the spiritual welfare of the troops and their utter disregard of personal risk have endeared themselves to the hearts of everyone. The incessant efforts of the Y. M. C. A.

and their initiative in bringing comforts right up to the front line, in battle, are warmly appreciated by all.

"The victories you have achieved are the fruit of the iron discipline you accepted freely and of the high standard you have reached in the technical knowledge of your arms and the combined tactical employment of all your resources.

"You must therefore with relentless energy maintain and perfect the high standard of training you have reached, and guard with jealous pride your stern discipline.

"Under the lasting protection of Divine Providence, united in a burning desire for the victory of right over might, unselfish in your aims, you are and shall remain a mighty force admired by all, feared and respected by foes.

"I am proud of your deeds and I want to record here my heartfelt thanks for your generous efforts and my unbounded confidence in your ability to fight victoriously and crush the enemy wherever and whenever you meet him."

More and more it became perfectly obvious that the hand of God had touched the enemy. It was the moral equation that settled the war.

The fall of Cambrai had extraordinary consequences. The following is an extract from a correspondent: "With the British Armies, Sunday, ——. I was in Bruges yesterday morning a few hours after the Germans had left it, and fell into such a scene of ecstasy as outdid even Lille. But before touching on particular experiences or describing what has happened in Bruges, Ostend, Tourcoing, Roubaix, Lille and Courtrai, I should wish to make everyone share our master emotion after talking with the liberated people. The blood and agony of British soldier prisoners and of French and Belgian women cry from the streets of all these towns."

Mr. Moore, chaplain of Lille, who saw the Blackhole Prison with its shifting population of 800 prisoners, who was present day after day at progressive deaths of starved

and bullied men, who read the burial service over 200 Englishmen who died of oppression, has fellow witnesses from Bohain, near Le Cateau, up to Ostend, among self-sacrificing men and women who suffered blows and imprisonment in endeavors to save them from starvation.

Germans talked of reprisals for purely invented crimes. They shelled civilians in a village near Lille and fined others because a French ship had bombarded Alexandretta.

They gave British soldiers no bite of food for three days because, they said, the Germans were kept in our trenches on the Somme. I have sworn testimony for all these things.

If possible the treatment of French women was worse. From Lille, Tourcoing, Roubaix, where yesterday Clemenceau himself heard the tales, they snatched thousands of women away, choosing the middle of the night for the crime.

One dying man was left quite alone, and many mothers had scarcely a farewell of their daughters, and for six months they heard no news.

The first they heard was the return of their once innocent daughters, aged, dirty and worn after months of forced labor in barracks. Roubaix and Tourcoing alone saw supplied 18,000 of these women slaves. To-day for thousands, for 400,000 in the cotton and wool district centered in the Lille district, for 26,000 who remain in Ostend, for the whole population of Bruges, "the golden age returns."

I went into a convent of teaching sisters to see a friend. "Is it really four years," I asked, "since you had news?" She answered: "Four years and seven days." Not a whisper of the fate of nearest and dearest had reached them, nor had their letters gone.

One bright morning I stood on the heights before Bourlon Wood and looked upon the five spires of Cambrai. In the fifth century it was the capital of the Frankish kings. It saw the great Charlemagne, and was besieged by the Hungarians about a thousand years ago. It was the scene of the Ladies' Peace, signed in 1528 by Margaret of Austria

and Louise of Savoy. This was the home of the great Fenelon. With its history, its gardens and its canals, almost the first sight of undiluted fresh water since landing in France, it would fascinate the Canadian at any time.

But that day in the Autumn sunshine it seemed much more like Gustave Nadaud's Mystic City of Carcassone. It was the City of Dreams. For years the Canadian Corps had been living in a land of desolation, and for the last two months had been fighting its way through the scarred belt of France. At one spot a Canadian sign-post reads, "This was Reincourt," and in countless other villages "fuit" is the only appropriate name.

One could almost imagine the possibility of the end of all civilization, and picture a race of new barbarians, living in the dugouts of dead armies, beginning again the weary story of the ascent of man.

For the Allied Armies had arrived at the boundary of the abomination of desolation — beyond lay cornfields ploughed for next year's crops, which Germans will not reap. The gardens are full of vegetables for winter store, and the towns are comparatively undestroyed. Indeed, in the distance the red-tiled roofs seem to speak of a new experience.

Cambrai was the gate, not only of a new country, but of a new era.

The news during the last few days had been so wonderful that it may well have rejoiced those gallant spirits whose bodies sleep in their blanket shrouds. One could dream not only of a rehabilitated France and Belgium, but of humanity healed of its wounds; a time of peace to come when "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall there be war any more." That fine idealism which burned like a meteor before us in the dark days must be with us to the end.

Yes, civilization stands to-day at the Gates of Pearl.

In the symbolism of the Orient, the home of the pearl banks, the pearl stands for tears. Canada has learned the lesson that the ideal future we all hoped for can only be reached by the gate of sacrifice. How splendid a pearl Canada has contributed to the gate of nations can best be estimated by those who have seen the gift so gladly made. We need not waste time to think of money and material — these things are nothing.

The greatest discovery of my life has been the deep springing well of idealism in our young men. They do all that they can to hide it, but in times of drought it never runs dry. It is passing strange that it is youth, which has all to live for, that gives it royally away.

Walter Raleigh in his fine elegy on the death of Sir Philip Sidney says:

> "What hath he lost that such great grace hath won?
> Young years for endless years, and hope unsure
> Of fortune's gifts for wealth that still shall dure.
> Oh, happy race, with so great praises run!"

The typical Canadian does not like discipline, and yet the Canadian Corps maintains a very high standard cheerfully and with pride.

The inner story of the private soldier has never been told. It is more than the danger and death which he faces with the officers who lead him. In proportion their casualty rate is at least as great as his. But his whole life is a religious pilgrimage, although he would be the last to admit it. It is the reproach of the churches that he cannot see the connection.

> My shoulders ache beneath my pack,
> (Lie easier, Cross, upon his back).
> I march with feet that burn and smart,
> (Tread, holy feet, upon my heart).
> Men shout to me who may not speak,
> (They scourged Thy back and smote Thy cheek).
> My rifle hand is stiff and numb,
> (From thy red palm red rivers come).

The new men who have come from Canada this year are cordially welcomed by their companions and have worthily carried on the traditions of their predecessors. Already many of them have given all that a man can give.

There is a famous battalion, known in the Corps as the Van Dusens, to which came a draft before a recent battle. One of the draft was rather lame and never could keep up with his platoon on the march. So in the trench his sergeant said to him: "Bill, zero hour is at eight o'clock. You're rather slow, so you had better go over at seven and we will catch up with you." The boy went and miraculously came through without a scratch.

Canada's greatest asset is not her continent, her plains or her waterways, but her sons whose greatest desire is to finish this task for all time that their children may never have to pass through Moloch's furnace again.

What do the war pictures teach us? A writer in the "Commonwealth" says:

"After we have done with their skill, their humour, their beauty, their tragedy, what is the feeling we are left with? The impression, I think, of the sheer and utter stupidity of war. The rows and rows of wounded men posing for the camera, the vast accumulation of paraphernalia, the endless series of bursting shells, the ruined churches, the waste and wreckage of fair and goodly things, all combine to display the monumental folly of the fact that has caused them. Nothing more. The incredible stupidity of the whole wild action is the dominant emotion with which we come away. And yet the odd thing is that there are people who lament the showing of the poor crumbled remnants of what were once free and living men. They lie there bleeding, broken, and devoured by flies after having been blasted to bits by some stray shell. Why withdraw them? Has not war got this bloody side? Is not killing, after all, the main end of war? Of course! Take these particular pictures away and the real business of war is

wantonly hidden; it becomes then just a great and not unpleasing spectacle; we merely depart exclaiming, "How wonderful, how cheerful the Tommies are!" No! Let these pictures of death in its most hideous and revolting forms remain if such exhibitions must be at all. They are the truth. All the others lie. And the more we gaze on their beastliness so much the more we cry, 'Never again'. The very obscenities of war will turn us into the ways of peace."

There are some things which the Old World can teach the New, but there are other things which we can teach them, and one of these lessons is the danger of being hypnotized by the past. An old Frenchman sat in the ruins of his Cambrai home and when the news of Germany's first surrender came, he refused to be elated, for two of his three sons were dead. He said to me: "Monsieur, you will never change the world. I fought in the War of 1870, and my grandfather was with Napoleon at Waterloo. His grandfather was at Oudenarde against Marlborough, and for three hundred years have the men folk of my family been killed in battle. The Boche will come again, not in my time, but later. It is inevitable — if not the Boche, someone else."

It is that spirit of the haunted house against which we must fight as the plague.

It would be black treachery against the memory of those who have died in faith should we not be content with anything less than a world where the spirit of Christ shall reign over the nations.

IV. VALENCIENNES

And the Promised Land

"Now I saw in my dream that by this time the pilgrims were got over the Enchanted Ground and entering into the country of Beulah, whose air was very sweet and pleasant; the way lying directly through it, they solaced themselves there for a season. Here they heard continually the singing of birds, and saw every day the flowers appear in the earth, and heard the voice of the turtle in the land. In this country the sun shineth night and day; wherefore this was beyond the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and also out of the reach of Giant Despair, neither could they from this place so much as see Doubting Castle. Here they were within sight of the city they were going to. Here they had no want of corn and wine; for in this place they met with abundance of what they had sought for in all their pilgrimage." — *The Pilgrim's Progress.*

Life is a pilgrimage, and every undertaking from its conception to its triumphant conclusion must necessarily follow the processes by which men accomplish great things. The work of the allied armies during the last four years was also a progression. There was a crossing of the Red Sea at the beginning of the war. There was the wandering for many months through the wilderness, and at last, after the eyes of humanity were tired with watching, the Promised Land came in view, just as it did for Christian when he came to the land of Beulah, which was just on the outskirts of the city of his dreams. The lessons of history are taught in the strangest and yet most timely ways. Last summer, when they were digging a gun pit in northern France, a Canadian soldier dug up an earthen pot which was filled with copper coins. There were 350 altogether, and they were just as perfect as when they were placed in the ground 1,600 years ago. The proud patrician faces of Vespasian and Hadrian seemed extraordinarily modern. Probably the coins were buried by some thrifty colonist who had to leave his home in a hurry when the barbarians

were sweeping into the outer reaches of the decadent Roman Empire. He never came back.

This is the country where Caesar made his reputation. His memorable introduction to his Gallic Wars, concerning Gaul being divided into three parts, which has been memorized painfully by generations of English schoolboys, still holds strangely true. There is the great southern and central part of France, unconquered and unconquerable, where the spirit of Joan of Arc has been reborn. For four years it has been the Holy Land of Humanity in its fight for the freedom of the world. Secondly, there is the battle zone where desolation reigns, where the whole land is pockmarked with shell-holes, where villages are dust heaps and cities piles of stone, where the soul of Verdun stands sentinel over the countless thousands who sleep in the man-made wilderness in sure and certain hope of victory's promised land. There is a third part of France, which had been hidden behind the veil since August, 1914, and to this may be added the lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The first thing that strikes one concerning this territory, into which the Canadian Corps was about to enter, and concerning which this chapter will be devoted, is the enormous importance of the district to the future life of France. Imagine, if possible, an invading army in possession of Lancashire and of the coal mines of South Wales, and you will have some conception of the economic dislocation which France would have suffered if the Teuton plan had not miscarried. Lille is the Manchester of France, her most prosperous manufacturing city, while everywhere between Douai and Valenciennes can be seen the pyramids which tell of the rich coal mines, all of which were in German hands. It is not for nothing that the Germans clung to Lens with desperation and flooded the mines when they left, making them useless for three years at least. It is well known that the Briey-Longwy Mines have produced 90 per cent of the high-grade steel used by Krupp and taken from the French Province of

Lorraine. The towns and villages in this district seemed much more pretentious than those in the South, the homes are obviously those of people who had made money in commerce.

Valenciennes is the queen city of this district, situated on the River Scheldt, not far from the Belgian border. It is one of the oldest cities in France, having been founded by the Roman Emperor Valentinian. In the Middle Ages it was part of the patrimony of the Counts of Hainault; at one time it was the centre of the Protestant power in northern France, and was the scene of one of Conde's characteristic victories. The average Canadian knew the city before the war from its association with the beautiful lace which used to be made there, but this industry has been dwarfed in modern years by the coal and iron manufacturing interests of the plain. Across the canal are the coal-fields of Anzin. It is a city of 30,000 people, and like most of these northern cities, from having been independent centuries ago, has some of the qualities of a capital city. The church of Notre Dame du Cordon is a fine building, also the thirteenth century church of St. Gery. The whole city is surrounded by a network of canals, which were used to the utmost by the Germans to impede the advance of the allies in the last week of October. After the fall of Cambrai it was known that the Germans would make their next stand at Valenciennes.

On October 11, just after the fall of Cambrai, the battle of Iwuy was fought by the Second Division, and it completed the victory. This fight was one of the bitterest in the history of the Second Division. For the first time this summer the Canadians had the opportunity of knowing how the Germans must have felt when our tanks went over their trenches, for the enemy made a most determined attempt to use tanks as we had done. There is no doubt that the moral effect of these land dreadnoughts is very great, but our men stood the test splendidly and the tanks

were either captured or retired. In our own battalion there were 300 casualties on that morning, and on the ground just outside the regimental aid-post there were dozens of dead and wounded lying. Captain Howard Black, of Toronto, our medical officer, did splendid work under great difficulties in caring for the wounded under shell-fire. I had not the privilege of being with the battalion that morning, but coming up to Eswars, a suburb of Cambrai, I found them all lying asleep in the cellars of the ruins. The whole division was asleep, and never before, I think, had I realized the terrific strain under which men in action labor. They had had no sleep for three nights, were unwashed and unkempt. Boys of twenty looked like men of forty, and men of forty seemed to have shrivelled into old age. They slept almost like the dead for twenty-four hours.

Just afterward, one evening at Sailly, a group of men were standing around battalion headquarters, looking at the printed notices, when I noticed a murmur of unusual interest. It was Germany's reply accepting President Wilson's fourteen points. It was a moment that many had talked of and dreamed about. It was perfectly certain that Germany must be on the verge of collapse, though even then no one realized that there would be but three weeks more of fighting; but the effect of the news upon the men was very strange. There was no excitement. They looked at each other and hardly said a word. The poor fellows hardly liked to say what they thought. Many a man who had come through months of fighting went silently away looking weak and tired.

Almost at once after advancing from Cambrai, the flowing tide reached Le Cateau, where General Smith-Dorrien fought such a splendid defensive battle in 1914. The first British troops to enter the town were patrols of the Fort Garry Horse, who were overwhelmed by the embraces of the rescued inhabitants. In the large town of Denain there

were over 20,000 civilians, who welcomed the Canadians with transports of enthusiasm. Hardly had the Germans left the town when allied flags were produced from nowhere, marvelous imitations of the Union Jack fashioned out of petticoats were flying everywhere, while the whole population seemed delirious with joy. I had the opportunity of talking with the curé, a wonderful old man, who spoke with much animation of his experiences during the years of occupation. He said: "Monsieur, the worst effect of the invasion has been the moral one. After the first flood, when they settled down, the Boches did not commit any atrocity, but they have perverted a great many foolish girls in the town. There are always those who are weak, and for a long time to come we shall suffer from their influence." He said also: "What most impressed me concerning Germans was the cruelty of the officers towards their own men. Many a time I have seen a staff car stop when some passing private soldier failed to salute through inattention. I have seen an officer brutally slash the man across the face with his riding-crop or knock him down with the butt of his revolver. No, Monsieur, I do not love the Boche."

In that extraordinary book written by Freytag von Loringhoven, the philosopher of the German General Staff, last year, the most striking feature was the conception of human life which evidently possessed the military leaders of Berlin. Looking back on the lessons of three and a half years of war, he expresses the desire that the Fatherland should breed more and more children as potential soldiers. He looked upon men and women in the mass as a Canadian lumberman would regard a fine forest of white pine, something to be cut down, trimmed of bark and branches and put through the sawmill.

It was the deliberate conviction of Canadians that the sight of the undestroyed and occupied cities of Northern France was even more eloquent of German barbarism

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

Three Canadian Sisters, a Canadian Doctor and an American Doctor Were Among the Victims of a Bombing of a Canadian Hospital. The Hat and Dress of One of the Sisters Who Was Killed Is Seen on the Coffin Covered by the Union Jack

(By courtesy Canadian War Records.)

The Bivouac of the Dead

than the vast desolation between Arras and Cambrai. Where fighting actually went on, it seemed inevitable that there should be destruction, but the destruction of the fairest buildings bears no comparison to the bending and breaking of the human spirit. Shall we ever forget the pinched, yellow faces of the women, and their dark, hollow eyes looking from the doorways as the battalions entered the town, or the hysterical demonstration which spoke too clearly of a new hope in a heart that was burned out. The little children, half nourished and some obviously of Teuton parentage, the old men, hopeless and bowed (there were no young men left — many of them were slaves in the interior of Germany)— it helped to make Canadians understand what it would mean to live in a German world. I hold in my hand a typical proclamation scraped from a notice board in the town of Tournai. It was one of dozens to be found in every occupied town, printed in German and in French. The lives of the people were obviously measured out for them with minutest care. Imagine how Canadians would like to read of their next-door neighbors being shot for trying to correspond with relatives from whom they had been separated for four years. On inquiry we found that these victims, who were living in a city where their parents had lived before them, had only endeavored to communicate with their loved ones. This is the French version:

CONDAMNATION

EXECUTION CAPITALE,

Par judgement du tribunal de guerre a Tournai le 29 aout, 1917, ont ete condamnes pour l'espionage par des pigeons voyageurs:

1. GEORGES REMY,

Française, Journalier, ne le 2 aout, 1887, a Genech, habitant a Ouvignies.

2. FLORE LAFRANCE, *nee* LACROIX,

Française, nee le 11 avril, 1886, a Waurelos, habitante a Ouvignies.

3. GEORGINE BOSSUYT, *nee* DANIEL,

Française, nee le 15 janvier, 1883, a Nomain, habitante a Nomain.

4. HENRI CAIGNET,

Française, fermier et marchand de charbons, ne le 2 Mai, 1866, a Lesquis, habitant a Delmez.

A LA PEINE DE MORT,

Le peine de mort a ete executee. Les condamnes ont ete fusilles.

On fait connaitre ceci a la population comme avertiseement. NOVEMBER, 1917.

Probably in the legends of the Canadian Corps the ten days' rest at Auberchicourt will be idealized as the first taste of the Promised Land. Coming after the first battle which marked the final phase of the fall of Cambrai, the contrast was almost overwhelming. For three years the Canadian Corps had taken its full share of the hardships incidental to the campaign, gradually increasing in intensity. From the trenches of the Ypres salient to the mud of Passchendaele, from the bombs of Amiens to the desolation of the Arras region, had been progression from one form of discomfort to another. The high command must have had confidence in the ability of the Canadians to resist heart failure, or there would have been a judicious period of transition.

Towards the end of October the Second Canadian Division took possession of the town of Auberchicourt. The suburb of Aniche, being the "Belgravia" of the city, was occupied by the Twenty-first Canadian Battalion. It was in peace time a prosperous mining center, the home of many well-to-do citizens of the commercial class. The Germans had driven out the inhabitants, and we had the place to ourselves. Such billets had never been known in the history of the most imaginative "Fifty-niners." Spring beds for all the troops, marble clocks on every mantelpiece, coal in every cellar, and a back garden with the "leeks and

cucumbers of Egypt." One company officer refused a billet because the piano was out of tune.

The latent domestic talents of many unsuspected artists were displayed in the decoration of the living-rooms of the houses. House furnishing was less expensive than the Canadian instalment plan, concerning which some innocent bachelors have already been consulting their married comrades. This was especially noticeable when a Canadian casualty clearing station arrived in the town and the nurses appeared in the streets. The M.O. pretended that he knew them and immediately carried out a masterly offensive with complete success. For some reason, which no one else could understand, the Q.M. was called in to convoy the prisoners. The men lined the streets on either side as the procession passed up the "B" mess for afternoon tea.

That night a most excellent H.Q. officer, apropos of nothing at all, asked whether in peace time two could live as cheaply as one.

A brigade service under the command of Colonel Millen, D.S.O., of Hamilton, acting brigadier, was held on the 27th. The preacher spoke of St. John's vision of a new heaven and a new earth and said that the gates of pearl were the gates of sacrifice. The new world which was even then opening before us had been reached through the death of those who had died four years before. He mentioned the fact that the Canadian Corps was advancing along the historic line of the Mons retreat. Their voices seemed to cheer us from their resting-place.

Valenciennes fell after a bitter struggle in which every bridgehead of the canal was destroyed and every road mined by the retreating enemy. The outside world hardly noticed the victory, for the rush of world events began to crowd the stage as the drama came to a close. But never did men more sorely miss their fellows than the Canadians their comrades who were sacrificed when the victory was in sight. It seemed so hard that they should have to die

like another great leader on Mount Horeb who saw the land he should never tread. Never did the memory of the trenches seem so dreadful or the prospect of a winter campaign so distasteful as after that idyllic interlude before Valenciennes. As a sample of peace it was excellent. For the first time in over a year the men could sleep at night without the terror of the bird of death. The German aerodromes were being captured, and they were being made to regret having initiated the bombing of defenseless towns. But there is many a Canadian who will never look upon a full moon upon a quiet night without a shudder of recollection. As one who generally had some kind of a dugout at night, when the boys in the front line lay shivering in their great-coats, hostile aeroplanes droning the livelong night, I often used to think of the futility of it all. It sometimes seemed as if it was the old men of the world with their ambitions and cold calculations who had been the makers of wars which the young men fought for them. From the days when the Roman Senate sent its ultimatum to Carthage until Austria sent a similar message to Serbia, how many homes have been made desolate because men in the mass will not act as they have learned to do as individuals?

Will anything ever end war? "Science," says Dr. Charles E. Jefferson in his book, "What the War is Teaching"—"Science cannot kill war, for science has not the new heart, and only whets the sword to a keener edge. Commerce cannot kill war, for commerce, too, lacks the new heart, and only lifts the hunger of covetousness to a higher pitch. Progress cannot kill war, for progress in wrong directions leads into bottomless quagmires in which we are swallowed up. Law cannot kill war, for war is but a willow withe tied round the arms of humanity, and human nature when aroused snaps all the withes asunder and carries off the gates of Gaza. Education cannot end war. And if by education you mean but the sharpening of the

intellect, education may only fit men to become tenfold more masterful in the awful art of slaughter.

"What then will end war?

"The world has had three historic scourges — famine, pestilence and war. Each one numbers its victims by the tens of millions.

"Commerce killed famine. By her railroads and steamships she killed it. It lies like a dead snake by the side of the road along which humanity has marched to the present day. Science killed pestilence. The black plague, the bubonic plague, cholera, smallpox, yellow fever, all have received their death-blow. Science did the work. These foes of humanity lie bleeding and half dead by the side of the road along which the world presses up to a higher day.

"Who will kill war? Not science, and not commerce, and not both of them together. Only religion can kill war, for religion creates the new heart in man."

"What did you see out there, my lad,
That has set that look in your eyes?
You went out a boy, you have come back a man,
With strange new depths underneath your tan.

"What was it you saw out there, my lad,
That set such depths in your eyes?"

"Strange things — and sad — and wonderful,
Things that I scarce can tell —
I have been in the sweep of the Reaper's scythe,—
With God,— and Christ,— and hell.

"I have seen Christ doing Christly deeds;
I have seen the Devil at play;
I have grimped to the sod in the hand of God;
I have seen the Godless pray.

"I have seen Death blast out suddenly
From a clear blue summer sky;
I have slain like Cain with a blazing brain,
I have heard the wounded cry.

"I have lain alone among the dead,
With no hope but to die;
I have seen them killing the wounded ones,
I have seen them crucify.

"I have seen the Devil in petticoats
Wiling the souls of men;
I have seen great sinners do great deeds,
And turn to their sins again.

"I have sped through hells of fiery hail,
With fell red-fury shod;
I have heard the whisper of a voice,
I have looked in the face of God."

V. MONS,

And the March to the Rhine

"We lie like castaways upon the shore,
Whose lives were lost in the Great Retreat,
But where the wave hath ebbed the flood shall roar,
And we await the tide's returning feet."

We are coming almost to the close of the most wonderful hundred days in the history of the world. This may be said advisedly, remembering that the term "hundred days" has for one hundred years been associated with the celebrated return of Napoleon from Elba until his judgment at Waterloo, but I am quite sure that when history estimates the situation in Europe at the beginning of the last act — how that the German power seemed to be far from having spent its force and that the German armies were at Chateau Thierry and there was only a living barrier — when one considers the plans for the evacuation of the Channel ports or the surrender of Paris, which were seriously considered in July by the Great Allied Command, and that after three little months the end was in sight, one may say without hesitation that in future the final act of the drama, before the curtain was rung down on the scene forever, will live in history as "The Hundred Days."

Let us return in memory to August, 1914, because we are already drawing near to the gates of Mons. The Belfroi can be seen in the distance, and from an aeroplane the statue of Baudoin of Constantinople can be clearly discerned swathed in sandbags in the Placede Flandres, and we can remember it was at Mons four years before that the Briton and Teuton first looked into each other's eyes.

In the year 1914 the unpreparedness of the British ...ire was a matter of knowledge to all the foreign offices ...ne. I am one of those who rejoice that it was so,

for when history begins to estimate the responsibility for the Great War, that England was unprepared will be her justification before the bar of history; and, speaking of armies, just before the war the English army was almost a negligible thing.

Those "Old Contemptibles" who saved Europe at the beginning of the War, forming the army of the whole British Empire, were less in strength than the Canadian Corps at the end of the War — only four divisions with their artillery under the command of Sir John French — but it was the finest army that ever crossed the sea (we never appreciated our professional soldiers). The English private was despised socially, refused entrance into hotels and lodging-houses, treated in dining-rooms as if he was a moral leper. You remember the words of Kipling:

> "It is Tommy this and Tommy that,
> And Tommy, how's your soul?
> But it's the thin red line of heroes
> When the guns begin to roll."

It was the thin red line of heroes all right in August, 1914, for they lay down in their tracks and died each man in his shallow pit. They were practically annihilated, but they saved the future of the world. It was a wonderful little army that was poured through the canvas tunnels at Southampton in the transports to stop the breach in the dyke of civilization. They left on a bank holiday, unnoticed amid the crowds. They never came back to England again, but their spirit will live forever in the anthology of the Anglo-Saxon race. They did not have any machine-guns, but every man was a trained rifleman. The old fifteen rounds a minute was a deadly weapon. The enemy came in swarms like locusts in the days of Pharaoh, equipped for battle and the conquest of war. Machine-guns were as plentiful with them as they were with the Allies in 1917, but these "Old Contemptibles" faced them, retreating steadily, looking dourly over their shoulders. As the col-

umn flowed on the screen of grey which covered the German machine-guns was wiped out time after time.

It was a splendid Sunday afternoon on the 23rd day of August, 1914, just outside of Mons, and the British Tommies were sitting watching the people coming home from church. They were bathing in the canal when the guns opened. Columns began to debouch from behind the woods. At half-past three they came in thousands, and the struggle between the Anglo-Saxon and German, representing two types of civilization, began. It was a fight to the death, only to be settled after five years of mortal strife. The Germans were absolutely confident that the world was at their feet. They were simply electrified with the thought of world glory. Just before this they had captured Liege, where Belgium made its immortal stand, but the forts were at last pulverized under those 14-inch howitzers; then the forts of Namur were taken in a stride, two sets of them in front of the Meuse, the mediæval breastworks 200 feet high over the embankment, looked upon as absolutely impregnable forty years ago; then those white mushrooms of concrete lying low on green banks, the very last thing that engineering could devise. But this War has shown that the only thing that resists man is man himself; it was only by the spirit of man that the Frankenstein was destroyed.

The Germans were so sure of entering Paris that everyone took a pair of white gloves in his haversack. They intended to go through, and therefore it was demonstrated afterwards that the unspeakable atrocities of the first few days in Belgium were not the result of drunkenness and debauchery. It was the cool determination of the High Command, who wanted to destroy the soul and resistance of a people. It has been the most conspicuous failure of the German man, his incapacity to understand what other men think, but in that 1914 drive through Belgium they certainly attempted great things. They marched twenty kilometres

a day, and the British Army to the left of the allied line gave back, but held them all the way, at Le Cateau, St. Quentin, Compiegne, and at last, by the 6th of September, the little British Army, or what was left of it, had crossed the Marne. Already Calais and Boulogne were practically evacuated and a patrol of Germans could have entered at that time. The men marched in their sleep, hour after hour. The only rest they had from fighting was when they marched, but they saved humanity.

There came a day in September when Von Kluck was at the gates of Paris. Only by the mercy of God were the British saved at that time — by some perverted counsel the tide swerved to the southeast.

There was delay of twenty-four hours and that delay saved the history of the world. The battle of the Marne began and the German armies were driven back to the Aisne.

The Canadian Corps in 1918 was advancing along the Mons road and the forces of the men that lay buried seemed to say to us:

> "But where the wave hath ebbed the flood shall roar,
> And we await the tide's returning feet."

Who could have seen four years before that the tide would come from the lakes and rivers of the New World.

Four years have gone and the little, contemptible British Army has grown to be the greatest of all the armies of the Allies. Eight million men have been raised and the great majority offered themselves freely before universal man-service was adopted by the Empire. It had been a wonderful mingling of tragedy and glory during those years. The blaze of Anzac was already history. The romance of Mesopotamia, with the names of Ctesiphon, Kut and Bagdad, were now things of the past. Bulgaria had surrendered, and the march to Nish competed in public interest with the exploits of Allenby and his Crusaders. The mind was carried back seven hundred years to the legend of Richard the Lion-

hearted to find some parallel to the news of the deliverance of Palestine and the picture of British cavalry watering their horses in the Abana. Austria, after a chequered history of more than a thousand years, was disappearing from the map of the world, having been, in spite of the legend of the Holy Roman Empire, consistently the enemy of human progress. It was a week that men will point to in future ages as one of the mountain-peaks in the story of mankind.

The movement upon the world stage was obscuring the actors, but in Belgium the British Army, trying to forget the distractions of this hour of destiny, was engaged in a specific task. This happened in the early days of November, 1918, when the Canadian Corps was marching out of Valenciennes on their march to Mons. There were many who looked upon it as a marvellous thing that we should have lived to see these days. Of the realization of the dream for which Britain drew the sword one may truly say: "Others have labored, and ye have entered into their labors."

The Belgians of the Province of Hainault are Celtic in temperament and intensely Gallic in their sympathies. It was a revelation to those who judged Belgium by their experience in Flanders. It is fortunate that it was the lot of the Canadian Corps to enter into the eastern part of Belgium. I am sure everyone must have been struck, in the early days of the war, by the fact that the returned soldiers did not seem to have the conception the civilized world had of the Belgians around the Ypres salient. A great proportion of these were of Flemish origin and friendly to our enemy, so it was a great revelation to our Canadians when they entered Belgium from Valenciennes to find that they were in a French country. The people were tremulous with joy. The men seemed to be marching under divine impulse and in their sleep. The bands played while the Germans were shelling as hard as they could.

The Canadians entered town after town as the Germans were going out at the other end of the town. The villages were *en fete;* French and Belgian flags which had been buried for years hung everywhere. Marvellous imitations of the Union Jack, obviously improvised from available material, testified to the genuineness of the welcome. Chrysanthemums and asters, with an amazing profusion of autumn flowers, were literally showered upon all ranks. The joy of the people was a wonderful thing to behold, and the excitement can only be explained by the fact that many of them had just issued from the cellars from which they had been under shell-fire from the retreating enemy. At Jemappes, where the battalion advanced fifteen kilometres in a single day, the people seemed extraordinarily glad to see the Canadians. There was an obvious sincerity in it all. Men, women and children, emerging from the cellars where they had been for thirty-six hours, danced like Bacchantes in a delirium of delight. The symbol of the Walloon Cock crowing its head off, which was placarded everywhere, truly expressed the national psychology. The pipe band produced an indescribable effect upon the populace. Too late it was discovered that a potent weapon had been only partially utilized during the early months of the war. The girls first tried to waltz to the strains of the "Cock of the North," but they felt themselves that they were not doing justice to the music. At last an old woman appeared on a window-sill and spontaneously dissolved into a Highland Fling. Like Tam O'Shanter's witch, "a souple jade she was and strang." From that moment the censorship was removed.

"In the midst of life we are in death." At the house where we stayed we felt we were scarcely welcome. There was a certain reserve, though nothing was said. At last the proprietor came in and explained: "I am very sorry we do not seem to rejoice, but only last night my little girl was struck with a German bomb and is now lying in the

next room." There she was, a child with golden hair, the little body almost blown to pieces. Shall we ever forget the revelation of what the good civilians had endured during the past days? This fact stood out back of all the exuberance and gaiety.

Beneath the unique experience of these days which marked the apotheosis of the 21st Canadian Battalion in France everyone saw the genuine gratitude of a nation delivered from slavery. It was pleasant, even if slightly undeserved, to hear Canadians hailed as the "liberators of Belgium," and many a man wished that some good comrade who had died in hope in dark hours could have been by his side that day.

The brass bands came into their own in those days. The bands were the soul of the Canadian Corps during their march to the Rhine. A great many battalions had pipe-bands, and the people seemed to go mad when these started to play, as it seemed to be the crystallization of the spirit of the British. The troops moved into Noirchain, after advancing 15,000 yards on November 10th. It was known that the German envoys had crossed the frontier, but even then no one quite realized that the end had come. In its relationship to the individual it was inevitable that the end of a world war should seem like an anti-climax in the field. There is a sublime simplicity in the following message which arrived at Battalion Headquarters at 08.40 hours: "Hostilities cease at 11.00 hours Nov. 11th. Stand fast on line reached at that hour."

The answer was: "Warning order *re* cessation of hostilities received. Thanks." That was all.

The advance of the battalion on the last day was the longest ever made from the front line, being nearly fourteen thousand yards. When the order concerning the armistice had been communicated to the various companies, the bands paraded through the town and there was general cheering, but upon looking back back upon the day every-

one remarked upon its comparative quietness. The transition from war to peace is as great as from peace to war. As it was impossible, on the fateful 4th of August, 1914, to understand the full meaning of the years which would follow, so the soldier, who had so long through hope deferred confined himself to the task in hand, could not at once realize that the end had come.

Again, many of the older men were thinking of the early days and of the good fellows who sleep in "Flanders' fields." One thing the men used to talk about was what would happen when the end came. You would hear them behind the lines speaking of the wonderful celebration they would have, how they would cut loose and celebrate without sleeping for two or three days. Yet to the whole line the end of the war came as an ante-climax. The men on that morning seemed too dazed to understand. There were men killed at the last moment. There were men who tried to cheer at 11 o'clock, but they seemed ashamed of their own voices. The band played, but not nearly so enthusiastically as on mess night. It was too much to expect that an ordinary being could realize it all at once. The quietest day of the last year in France and Belgium was the day of the cessation of hostilities. Yet there were some wonderful things happened that day. Just the night before the Canadian Corps was gathering around Mons, where the Germans and British had confronted each other in 1914, and on the morning of November 11th the Canadians entered the city. The last message of Sir Douglas Haig before hostilities ceased was: "The Canadians of the First Army (General Horne) captured Mons shortly before dawn this morning." In 1914 the last soldiers to leave Mons, looking over their shoulders at the enemy, were the 42nd Black Watch of Scotland. The first to enter Mons were the 42nd Highlanders of Montreal and the Princess Patricias of the Third Division.

There was an extraordinary reaction around Mons itself. The people were glad to see the Canadians. I picked up a hand-bill which was sent throughout Belgium, which was a caricature of the formal funeral notices which the French so dearly love:

Le General FOCH et ses enfants: France, Angleterre, Amerique, Japon, Chine, Belgique, etc. Le General von HINDENBURG et ses enfants: Allemagne, Autriche, Turquie et Bulgarie; Monsieur et Madame CANON-OBUSIEUR et leurs enfants: Mitrailleuse, Fusil, Bayonette, Lance-mine, Lance-bombe, Grenade, Gas-Asphyxiant;

Monsieur TANK et son fils Auto-Blinde;

Monsieur et Madame AEROPLANE-SOUSMARIN et leurs enfants; Explosif et Torpille;

Monsieur FRONT et ses filles Etapes;

Monsieur CONTROLE et ses enfants, Carte d'identite, Censure Requisition;

Messieurs Artillerie, Infanterie, Cavalerie, Genie, Gardescivique de tous grades et de tous pays;

Les familles: Mortalite, Misere, Maladie, Devastation, ont le grand plaisir de vous informer de la parte tant attendue qu'ils viennent de subir en la personne de

MADAME LA GUERRE

Presidente de la Societe La Famine,

Decoree de la medaille mortuaire de premiere classe

Fondatrice de la Quadruple Entente et des Puissances Centrales Fondatrice de la Societe Cooperative Les Accapareurs Reunis et Les Fermiers Enrichis. Secretaire du Comptoir General des Falsifications, Torrealine, Miel Artificiel etc.

Nee le 1er Aout, 1914, et heureusement decedee dans sa 5e annee a la suite d'un refroidissement provoque par un violent vent d'Ouest et d'une indigestion Turco-Bulgare.

Les funerailles, suivies de l'inhumation dans les tranchees, auront lieu a Bruxelles et se feront immediatement apres la signature de la Paix Generale et la rentree de Sa Majeste le Roi et de ses vaillants soldats."

Even at such a time as this the irrepressible Gallic temperament would have its expression.

The morning after the entrance to Mons there was a wonderful service in the city. There were eight Canadians killed at the capture of Mons itself. The people turned out *en masse* to the funeral. There was an oration by Monsieur Save, a representative from the Parliament at Brussels, who said: "Mons witnessed the arrival of the first soldiers of the British Army in August, 1914. Mons

welcomed her Canadian liberators in the very hour when the Huns were asking for mercy and pardon. Mons will preserve their memory in stone and bronze, but more lasting still will be the tale of glory that every father will tell to his son and every mother pass on to her child in future years as an ideal to be worshipped, and all those who will have had the privilege of living through these great and heroic days will never forget to whom all this splendor is due, and in the ages to come the name of Canada will be associated with the very concept of those words — Honor, Fidelity, Heroism — and we ask you to carry back with you to your homes the homage of our eternal gratitude."

While the battalion was at Mesvin it became known that the Canadian Corps, as part of the Second British Army, was to have the honor of taking part in the advance to the German frontier. The news was received with universal pleasure, for everyone felt that it was a logical seal to the great compact which Canada had made.

A thanksgiving service was held on Sunday, November 17th. At 6:45 a. m. the historic march began. The battalion touched the eastern outskirts of Mons and proceeded along the Roulex road. The day was frosty and bright and the battalion looked remarkably well. The men marched in fine spirits. Long lines of returning French and Belgian prisoners were met on the road, while during the day hundreds of British prisoners were met on their way from the German frontier. Their stories were most interesting. They reported that they had been kept alive only by the food and clothing sent from England. They said that the retreating German army was in great disorder, that rubber tires were worn out on the vehicles, that material of all kinds was being left behind and horses driven until worn out and then killed for food. The revolution had evidently penetrated the army, for officers had been compelled to take down their decorations and the red flag was flying everywhere.

Evidently the German surrender had not been made without excellent military reasons. At 10:49 the battalion entered the village of Thieu, twelve kilometres from Mons, and went into billets for two days.

The two days' rest at Thieu was marked by wet, foggy weather, which did not, however, dampen the hospitality of the inhabitants. The commanding officer spent much time in the transport, which was gradually nearing the inspection standard. From the inhabitants much was learned of the conditions during the four years of German occupation. It was apparent that the country had not been touched by the destructive side of war. The mines and the fertile soil, so like the loam of Manitoba, and the density of the population, all testified to the potential wealth of the district. But the people seemed to have lived in slavery. The Germans, by commandeering and fines, had systematically skimmed the entire production of Belgium above the life line.

How any country could hope to control a conquered country by such methods is beyond the psychology of a Canadian. Among the Walloons there is a passionate resentment, not only against the Germans, but also against those of their countrymen who were intimate with them during the occupation. Several riots were reported in the adjacent villages, where men were beaten and women branded and their hair cut by vigilantes. Some cafés were wrecked. Just a little "decensus averni" to show that human nature, even in martyred Belgium, is pretty much the same as in Winnipeg or Quebec.

On November 21st, at 08.30 hours, the battalion fell in, prepared to advance to its second objective. The band played farewell before the house of the burgomaster. The entire population cheered us through the streets. During a march of twenty kilometres the whole route was practically through closed streets of towns and villages which ran one into the other. After the vast spaces of unoccupied

land in Canada, it was like a revelation to pass through part of the most densely populated country in the world. Most of the road was of stone blocks. Only one man fell out on the march, and the men finished fit and strong. Along the whole way crowds lined the streets, and triumphant arches were found in every village. In the town of La Louviere there were elaborate decorations. Some of the mottoes were most interesting—"Canada Forever" was one of the most popular. At one spot even the horses began to prance and move with rhythmic dignity as they passed under an arch decorated with yellow, black and red, with the following lyrical inscription: "Honor and glory to the brave, the defenders of civilization." Several men reconstructed their private opinions of themselves during the day. At 15.30 hours the battalion entered the town of Trazegnies, where they found most excellent billets for the night.

There is a new song, the chorus of which expresses the feelings of every Canadian:

"The army, the army,
I liked it fine, and we'll see the Rhine;
The army, the army,
But I'll never go there any more."

The march for the next few days was through the heart of industrial Belgium, where intensive agriculture and specialized industries of all kinds have made the Province of Hainault, within a fifty-mile radius of Charleroi, a hive of human bees. The population has not been touched by the horrors of the battle zone, but has known to the full the fruitage of German rule.

Passing mile after mile through lines of people, one was impressed with their look and bearing. They seemed to lack the energy and youthful abandon of Canadian crowds. On second thought, you cannot expect people who have lived on soup and vegetables for years not to show some effects of malnutrition. This is a list of the current prices of some of the necessaries of life between Mons and the

Rhine: A milch cow, 6,000 francs; beef, 20 francs per kilo; boots, 300 francs per pair; suit of clothes, 800 francs; apples, 1 franc each; anaemic hot-house grapes, 12 francs per kilo.

Many a Canadian will go home from this old land with a new appreciation of his own despised back garden. Probably from long residence among the Indians, I have always regarded apples and peaches as fit food for a ruminant rather than the carnivorous Canadian. But I have already pictured myself watching with the pride of a millionaire the growth of the vine on the kitchen wall.

The people of Trazegnies extended a wonderful welcome to the boys of the battalion. The men were taken into their homes. One battle-scarred veteran was overcome with homesickness when the wife of the burgomaster ordered him to wipe his feet on the mat before walking on her carpet. M. Labonne, a prominent *evocat* in Trazegnies, placed his beautiful home at the disposal of the Headquarters mess, he and his young family vanishing into the upstairs regions. The table was set with spotless linen and shining cut glass, the whole atmosphere contrasting strangely with the Spartan fare of our ration supply. The delicate champagne glasses, like lilies on their slender stems, seemed to cry aloud to high heaven for something which the quartermaster does not provide. They did not sigh in vain, however, for during the two days of our stay they were supplied from an unseen spring.

The members of the mess are all teetotalers, but not bigoted ones. On the last night Monsieur and his charming wife graced the mess by their presence, and a young staff officer who spoke French was invited, it being slyly hinted that the party was in his honor. He was used as a speaking-trumpet for three hours. He finished a sterling Marathon performance by assuring Madame (who listened with shining eyes) that Belgique was the soul of the alliance and that Liege would rank with Marathon in the epic of humanity.

His laryngitis is doing well, and it is hoped he will be convalescent before we reach Namur.

The Canadian soldier is a born advertiser of his native land. In every house in the place for two days there was an orator eking out his scant French with convincing gestures to prove, between the light reflection of the blood puddings and hot milk, that Canada is the only country in the world. It would be good business for the Dominion Government to send to Belgium a carload of regimental badges and shoulder devices. They are prized by all the natives as priceless relics. It is distinctly against orders, but it is hard to refuse a pair of shining eyes pleading for your maple leaf as something beyond the price of rubies.

The battalion left Trazegnies on November 24 at 10:30 hours and marched through a series of villages and the towns of Courcelles and Gosilies, passing ten kilometers north of Charleroi. A halt was made at Gosilies for lunch. Here it was that one of the tragedies of the war occurred. The eagle eye of the president of the mess fell upon a shop window where a certain headcheese was for sale. He purchased it and carried it in triumph to the house of a professor of music, who had kindly placed his home at the disposal of the Colonel. Everyone was hungry and sat down with great eagerness, while the professor produced a music book of American rag-time, which he played with the air of the late Frau Wagner at a Bayreuth festival. The president remarked pleasantly that he had paid one franc a pound for the headcheese. Someone with a mathematical turn of mind said that if meat was ten francs a pound, "what is this?" At the same moment the doctor discovered some blonde eyelashes in his portion. The pessimist of the mess began to speak of the glycerine factory and kadaver meal, while at the same moment the professor, whether by design or by accident, slipped into a minor key. The bust of Mozart looked down from the piano with a satirical expression. It suddenly became apparent that

nobody was hungry. The president said firmly that he would carry it to the Rhine if necessary. The Colonel said bitterly that it was the appropriate place for it and he hoped he would bury it there. The padre said that he did not want to suggest anything, but that he would take a chance and read the burial service over it. The bugle call "fall in" ended a most interesting discussion. The march was continued and the battalion, just after dark, entered the village of Lambusard.

The population, to welcome us, sent up a choice collection of Heine flares in lieu of fireworks. It was an eerie sight, and, combined with the dusk of evening, the effect was electric. Men instinctively felt for their rifles and steel helmets, for it was a perfect imitation of the old nerve-racking performance of entering the trenches on an active front. The poor fellows could hardly realize that they had done with that forever. We stayed at Lambusard only one night and on the 25th, at 10:30 hours, the battalion left in column of route for a march of twelve kilometres. It rained all day and the roads were heavy with mud, but there were no stragglers when we reached the picturesque village of Spy at 15:00 hours.

This last day's march was through a more open and rugged country, and many of the population seemed to be of Teutonic origin. We were now within five miles of the source of the Somme, and before us lay the celebrated ring of forts around the city of Namur, where in 1914 the German artillery had proved to the world the uselessness of fortifications against modern guns.

On Wednesday, the 27th, the battalion left Spy at 10:15 hours and arrived at the cavalry barracks at Namur at 13:50 hours. Namur is the capital of one of the nine provinces of Belgium, to which it gives its name. It seems to mark a transition stage in the various ethnic strata across the country. The industrial belt seems to have been passed after a week's marching through a solid block of indistinguishable towns and villages, and a rich agricultural region

stretches before us. There evidently has been a distinctly Teutonic element in this city, albeit a minority. But one heard on all sides the stories of the frenzied German advance in 1914. It seems to have been the deliberate plan of the High Command, in accordance with the theories of von Bernhardi, to break the spirit of the people by terrorism. Incendiary companies went through the towns marking a proportion of the houses for destruction. Men, women and children were shot in cold blood. The story of Dinant has become one of the classic tragedies of the war. The Germans gathered the men together in the market-square, opposite the church, and on the other side placed the women and children. They then asked them to salute the German flag, and when they refused they shot down the women and bayonetted the children before their eyes; then they systematically butchered the men where they stood. The atrocious story was told by eye-witnesses who wept at the recollection. It caused a feeling of horror towards the invaders which decades will not efface. Five hundred and seventy innocent persons died in this one holocaust of kultur. It is stories like this that make Tommies say that kultur is not an idea but an odor.

The Brigade spent the day at the great cavalry barracks and on the morning of the 29th, at 10:05 hours, marched through the city towards the frontier, changing their general direction half-right. As we crossed the Meuse we looked back on the grey fortifications which crossed the heights 200 feet above us, and the scene looked like a picture out of a mediæval world. In any part of the world these forts are as obsolete before modern artillery as the great wall of China.

Passing through the prosperous suburbs of Jambres, the battalion swung into the open country and the modern forts of Namur appeared. Low massive earthworks crowned with concrete pillboxes like mushrooms, the same as those which at Liege held the first German advance until

the great guns were brought up. At 14:40 hours the battalion entered the village of Bonneville and went into billets for the night.

Headquarters was established in the Chateau de Bonneville, where the Count and Madame Le Chatelaine offered us the freedom of the great rambling old house. There were fine, charming children, whose presence made the day a memorable one. Their governess, who spoke English "made in Brussels," had lectured to her charges on *les Canadiens*. They were very much impressed with the "tonsure" of the president of the mess, whose one secret sorrow is the inability of his carefully nursed forelock to cover the bald spot over the bump of philoprogenitiveness. The romantic governess wove for herself a long tissue about this "religieux" who had forsaken his monastic cell for the rigors of the battlefield. The monk was in particularly good form during the evening, his rendering of La Veuve Joyeuse being particularly admired. When the Colonel innocently introduced the padre as another curé, Mademoiselle exclaimed, "*Mon Dieu, c'est une seminaire.*"

On the 30th the battalion resumed its march and covered 25 kilometres before going into billets at Miecret.

On resuming the march on December 1, at 8:05 hours, we entered a country which was very different from any other part of Belgium which we had seen. There were many hills, and the roads were lined with trees, like the roads in France. During the day the country became rugged, and rippling clear water streams were seen descending from the hills. The country had been reforested in many places, and the scenery was very like some parts of Surrey. The ridge of hills was as picturesque as Hindhead and the Devil's Punch Bowl. In the center of the valley lay the village of Barvaux, which we entered at 13:45 hours. The men were tired, but finished the three days' march in excellent spirits. The Headquarters were in the home of M. de la Rocheblin, an ardent patriot, his grand-

father having been Governor of Liege during the revolution, and one of Napoleon's generals. He produced many historic documents signed by Murat and other marshals, who had been the personal friends of his distinguished ancestor.

Our battalion is now two route marches from the German frontier, the advanced brigade of the Second Canadian Division having reached Germany to-day. It appears that our host is really M. le Marquis de la Rocheblin, with a palace in Brussels, who had, with his family, been confined in three rooms of his chateau here while German officers for four years swaggered about his grounds. When Mademoiselle Yvonne returned from Liege, where she and her duenna had been witnessing the triumphal entry of King Albert on Saturday, a celebration was held in the chateau. The bands played in the hall and the younger officers began a desperate rivalry for the hand of Mademoiselle on the ballroom floor. The Marquis became more and more eloquent as the evening progressed, at last becoming incoherent in his admiration of President Wilson — *quel homme* —to whom a statue in gold ought to be erected in every market-place in Belgium. It was pointed out that Sir Robert Borden and Horatio Bottomley were also deserving of the gratitude of all friends of liberty; but the Marquis had never heard of them. He was quite willing to learn, however. When some London busses passed through the town loaded with soldiers, there were some ancient theatrical notices still visible on the side, one being the Montague Glass comedy, Potash and Perlmutter. The Marquis led the cheering—"Vive le General Potash!" "Vive le General Perlmutter!" Such is fame.

I would like in conclusion to write, not of the political developments of the future — we must leave this for another time — but to tell you of two or three things that came with irresistible force just as soon as the cannon ceased to fire. When you began to realize, as you looked

at your gas-mask, that you would never put it on again, that every man could sleep under the stars that night and not think of the passing of an aeroplane laden with bombs, that your helmet would exist as a souvenir, it was all very wonderful. The next thought was that Canada had been led by the hand of God to take part in this great crusade. Somehow or other Canada had made her own indefinable contribution to the victory. Canada had found her soul during the war, but at a terrible cost.

The day after the armistice was signed we looked over the figures of our own battalion and found that there were 720 men with the battalion in France that day; that there had been 800 casualties since August 8; that 780 men had died in France, and 3,500 had passed through the battalion in its history. That's a sample of what it cost to make the Canadian Corps.

The next thought that came to mind was that we had to be thankful that we had gone in. If Britain had hesitated a moment France would have gone down to destruction, and God knows what the future would have been. Germany's guilt as the instigator of the war is beyond peradventure. It was a plot and nearly succeeded, but God was in His heaven. I am glad the Christian Churches of the Empire loyally supported the war. This is not the time nor the place to discuss how far we have been bound by the dead hand of other centuries, but, considering all things, the Christian Churches played a noble part in stimulating the spirit of sacrifice and resignation which has shed such splendor on human character.

Beyond all these obvious truths, however, it is also true that the real reason for the collapse of civilization is that all the nations have been in a varying degree guilty in forgetting God. The Age of Constantine, which historians tell us was the Golden Age when the Church conquered the world, was in reality the beginning of an age-long compromise. The priest has too often been a patriot

first and a Christian afterwards, so that the spirit of Christ has been consistently kept out of the international arena.

If you ask the average man who has been over to France if Christianity and the war are compatible, he will at once say, "No." Can a man be a perfect Christian and a warrior at the same time? The preacher will say "Yes," but the man will say "No." There is something wrong with the world. We must learn what it is that is wrong. Man was not made to do the things that men have been compelled to do in the last four years. Human bodies were not intended to be maimed or eaten by flies by the deliberate act of man. It is not our rulers only who are wrong — for they are the same kind of people that we are — but men must decide for themselves that this world ought to be made nationally what it is individually in its relationship between man and man. If I thought that it was necessary to the end of time that men should fight like jungle beasts, to continue to make wars develop in intensity, I would pray the Almighty God to touch our planet with His finger and end the horror of it all.

I believe that there is an idealism in the air that there never was before. You and I must do all that we can to see that these ideals shall not die, that we shall not be content to live hereafter on the plane of the past. And the day shall come, please God, when humanity shall beat its swords into plowshares and its spears into pruning-hooks, when men shall cease to destroy what they cannot create, and war, with all its unspeakable horrors, shall be relegated to the museum of the past.

VI. THE INVISIBLE CITY

The Bivouac of the Dead

"Now you must note that the city stood upon a mighty hill, but the pilgrims went up that hill with ease, because they had these two men to lead them up by the arms; also, they had left their mortal garments behind them in the river, for though they went in with them, they came out without them. They, therefore, went up here with much agility and speed, though the foundation upon which the city was framed was higher than the clouds. They went up through the regions of the air, sweetly talking as they went, being comforted, because they safely got over the river, and had such glorious companions to attend them."— *The Pilgrim's Progress.*

Every road leads to some city. The white roads of France led the advancing armies to five cities which marked the mileposts of victory. There is one remaining. It has no name, but its mystic spires can be seen to-night more clearly than the Gothic arches of Amiens or the Belfroi of Mons. Its silent streets are scattered all over France and Belgium, but in an instant it assumes reality, and once seen it is never forgotten. It is approached by the Road of Duty, which divides it from north to south, while the Way of Glory runs from east to west. The Temple of Immortality stands by the River of Life, where restful shade-trees grow.

Nearly sixty thousand Canadians have given their lives for freedom, and most of them are sleeping beyond the sea. After the second battle of Ypres the author of "Canada in Flanders" wrote: "The graveyard of Canada in Flanders is large. It is very large. Those who lie there have left their mortal remains on alien soil. To Canada they have bequeathed their memories and their glory:

"On Fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

Since then the village has grown to a great city. In the eternal desolation of the Ypres salient, in the quiet fields of Pozieres, on the sand dunes of Etaples, between Caix and Rozieres, on the Sunken Road, under the lofty poplars in many a hallowed spot from Arras to Cambrai are fields which "will be forever" Canada.

It is a Canadian city. Separated from Canada by two thousand miles of ocean, neither time nor space can ever alter its character. Hamilton and Winnipeg in the next hundred years may grow rich and forget, but every June the breeze that blows over the poppies will be perfumed with the memory of Canada at her best.

Dominion Day was celebrated by the Canadians in France with an intensity which is only possible here — partly, no doubt, because they were far from home and the light in the shrine of memory sheds a glamor on everything with the maple leaf trademark, but chiefly because of the growing conviction that Canada is making and will make in still larger measure her own contribution to the Empire and the world.

Outside the village of Tinques, on the St. Pol road, a stadium was erected within sound of the German guns and thirty thousand Canadians gathered for their Olympiad. The Prime Minister of Canada was present and the Duke of Connaught was an honored guest. Never were games celebrated with greater joyousness of heart. The spirit of the Great Adventure was in the air. Everyone knew that great days were coming. As the teams of the various Divisions stood in the sunshine, the thought suggested by "Morituri te salutant Caesar" must have touched their minds. But that feeling gave an indescribable zest to the pageant. The Spartans were playing again before their Thermopylae.

The eve of such a day should be a vigil. It was altogether fitting that the chaplains, with the hearty support of the commanding officers, should have set apart Sunday,

June 30, as Memorial and Decoration Day, wherever possible, in each cemetery in France.

Let me give you a picture from the garden of memory on a glorious Sunday morning last Summer.

There is a sandy hill overlooking the sea in old Normandy, where a field of wooden crosses marks the resting-place of more than seven hundred Canadians who sleep side by side with their brothers from every land where Britons dwell. On every cross there is a metal plate which tells everything which can make identity certain. There is no grass, but the clean sand is carefully weeded by a company of blue-eyed English girls in long yellow boots, who bear the initials W.A.A.C. upon their uniforms. Flower beds are being planted, and already the paths are lined with petunias and the ubiquitous scarlet poppies of "Flanders fields." Some day, no doubt, the avenues will be lined with maples and, I hope, the paths sown with the tiger lily which grows in Canadian soil.

In the center there is a circle on which all the paths converge. Here a platform has been erected and covered with flags, while a glorious wreath of roses covers the front of the table. Early in the morning a "fatigue party" (a misnomer in this case) placed a sprig of green bough, a bunch of wild flowers, and a red rose on every grave. It was, as I have said, a glorious summer day, and as the band drew nearer the gate the only discordant note was the vicious barking of the "Archies" at some distant outpost as they drove back a sacrilegious Hun machine.

Every Canadian unit in the area was represented. Thousands of soldiers filled the paths, facing inwards towards the platform in the centre. The band was behind the platform, and in front were Imperial staff officers, and others in American, Australian and New Zealand uniforms. The nurses lined the circle around the platform, their blue uniforms making a bright contrast with the mass of khaki. They each held a sheaf of cut flowers in their arms.

The service began with one verse of "O Canada," and the opening words seemed to bring the multitude together in spirit. The great memorial hymn which followed linked the visible congregation with the Church triumphant. We only filled the ground floor of the temple, while the great galleries above looked down.

> "For all the saints who from their labours rest,
> Who Thee by faith before the world confessed,
> Thy name, O Jesu, be forever blest,
> Alleluia!
>
> O blest communion, fellowship divine,
> We feebly struggle, they in glory shine;
> Yet all are one in Thee, for all are Thine.
> Alleluia!"

The lesson was from the vision of an exile on an Aegean isle when the monster Domitian ruled the civilized world. I was standing at the gate, sixty yards away, and distinctly heard the words: "These are they which came out of great tribulation and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more . . . and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes." Then followed a short prayer of dedication and for peace, and the Lord's Prayer.

The memorial address was delivered by Major G. O. Fallis, the assistant director of the Chaplain's Service. The Major is a tall, athletic man, seemingly quite young, with dark hair and bronzed face. Like all the other Canadians upon the platform, he wore simple khaki. He is in civil life a Methodist clergyman.

There were four Churches gathered around him as he spoke for the Christian spirit of the Canadian Army. "In my Father's house there are many mansions." There was only one subject for such an occasion — the men who slept at our feet and the cause for which they died. This is not a record, but a memory. The great quality of the address was its sympathy and suggestiveness. The people there were thinking deeply as the preacher spoke under a perfect blue

sky. A constant stream of lorries and automobiles hurried by on the road. The occupants, coming up suddenly on the scene, with awe-struck intuition, saluted as they passed the gate. The drone of a distant aeroplane gave a weird reality to the scene. I began to dream — the thought of immortality, how wonderful it is! Incredible that men in leather boots and mud-colored wool should ever have hit upon it. And yet it is simple truth to say that to-day it is the material which seems unreal and abnormal. There was a time when the other world seemed a place for the old, the feeble and the unfortunate — those who, for various reasons, were better away from here. But now it is the bravest, strongest and best who are there. Immortality seems nearer and more natural than ever. Then there is the deathlessness of an ideal for which men have suffered and died. The cause of liberty has been glorified and made more precious because these men died for it. Now it is our turn to hold the torch.

"Be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders' Fields."

As the sermon ended the nurses turned right and left among the graves and scattered their roses as they went, lingering sadly over the graves of the sisters who were killed a few weeks ago when the hospitals were raided.

Then came the most thrilling moment of the service as three trumpeters stepped forward and the notes of the "Last Post" rang over the hills and the sea. I never heard anything like it before. There were three trumpets, each with a different note, but the harmony was perfect. One was high and clear, like the spirit of the Rockies; another sweet and flowing, like the voice of a river; and the third deep, with the majesty of the northern woods. It was Canada weeping like Rachel for her children. The Assistant Deputy Chaplain-General raised his hand in benediction, and the most impressive service I ever witnessed was over.

"God Save the King" came almost as a relief. It brought us down to earth again and reminded us that for mortal men the way to live up to the vision moments of life is not to dream of them, but to stand to attention, move to the right and carry on.

It is a City of Youth. Listen! It is Rupert Brooke who sings, one of our poets silenced early in this strife—silenced, yet still speaking:

> "Blow out, you bugles, over the rich Dead!
> There's none of these so lonely and poor of old,
> But dying, has made us rarer gifts than gold.
> These laid the world away; poured out the red
> Sweet wine of youth; gave up the years to be
> Of work and joy, and that unhoped serene,
> That men call age; and those who would have been
> Their sons, they gave their immortality.
>
> "Blow, bugles, blow! They brought us, for our dearth,
> Holiness lacked so long, and Love and Pain,
> Honour has come back, as a king, to earth,
> And paid his subjects with a royal wage;
> And Nobleness walks in our way again;
> And we have come into our heritage."

Maurice Maeterlinck writes to the *Daily Mail* concerning the young dead:

"Our memories are to-day peopled by a multitude of heroes struck down in the flower of their youth and very different from the pale and languid cohort of the past, composed almost wholly of the sick and the aged. We must tell ourselves that now in each of our homes, both in our cities and in the country-side, both in the palace and the meanest hovel, there lives and reigns a young dead man in the glory of his strength."

Canada is the home of youth. We saw our destiny afar off, and the consciousness that our morning hours were only dawning made these boys of ours doubly dear to us. The world needed them and this new century was to be their arena, and now they sleep by the Arras-Cambrai road. But their youth has made their country forever young.

Society is a spiritual contract by which three parties are bound — the dead, the living, and the unborn. Our sixty thousand kept it on the red fields of Vimy and Cambrai; they kept it above the clouds, where many died to make the Canadian name live. Therefore, if we would be true to those who were true to us, honor binds us to keep our contract. There is laid upon us a new obligation to make this dear land which men have died to save the hope and the blessing of the world.

"God grant we may be worthy of His trust,
God grant the love and hope and earnest prayer
Of all who suffer and who turn to Him
May, in this war of spirit,— good and ill —
Conquer at last the hatred in the world."

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